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How to Invade Europe

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IN THE end, it is clear, Hitler must be overthrown in Europe. He can never be defeated except on the Continent, and if he is able to make himself secure there he will effectively control the world. Most of us like to blink this fact, for it is an ugly one. We prefer to stress the fact that Hitler will not have won this war until he has conquered England; for that is also true. But it is true only because an unconquered England is an essential base of operations against the Continent—against the New Europe which is taking shape even under British bombs.

Europe must be invaded and the Axis defeated there. Only then will the war end. Until that happens, the most the anti-Axis forces of the world can do is to prevent a Nazi-Fascist victory; and that is not enough.

Winston Churchill has promised that with American aid Britain's magnificent resistance will finally be transformed into an offensive, that the war will be carried to the Continent, Hitler's control smashed, the captive nations freed, and the populations rescued from slavery to the Nazi machine. The United States has promised to provide in ever-expanding quantities the aid required to enable Churchill to fulfil his promise. As I write this article the President has yet to make his fireside talk; but it takes little prescience to know what he has decided to say. I am confident that when these words are read, the American people will have been called to uncompromising struggle against fascist terror. We have needed and awaited that call for many slow weeks; and we are ready to throw our whole national strength into the struggle because we know from the example of Europe that such half-hearted resistance as we have so far offered is even more dangerous than surrender.

So let us consider it settled. The debate over methods may go on, but the decision as to purpose has been made. We are out to defeat Hitler, and we are determined to do whatever that purpose requires.

What does it require? Just what must we do to help Britain carry the war to the European continent and

defeat Hitler on his own ground? That is the question our nation must answer and answer quickly. So far it has hardly been faced—either by Prime Minister Churchill or by President Roosevelt, and even less by the men of smaller wisdom and courage who make up the majority of their collaborators. It is a question whose full answer carries implications from which politicians run as from a time bomb.

Hitler can be defeated only by revolution. That is the simple fact. But it has a corollary, equally obvious: revolution will never even get under way unless the economic-military struggle is carried on with unrelenting vigor. So far the men in power—army and civilian leaders alike—have relied on the production and use of arms as almost their sole answer to the question. Today they can no longer afford to do so. However much they may dread it, they must somehow be forced to face the fact that revolution can only be fought with revolution. And the anxiety haunting all persons who accept the need of revolution as a weapon against Hitler is that we in this country don't know how to use it. Slowly, but on a major scale, we are becoming prepared for a war of bombers and ships and armed men. But where and how do we prepare for a war of democratic revolution? Every tradition of our services and of our State Department is rigidly set against the methods we must learn to use if that absolutely crucial war is not to be lost. And if it is lost, the whole war will be lost. Revolution is the prerequisite not only to a democratic victory but to victory itself. Can our leaders learn that in time?

Revolution today does not imply anything so simple as men with rifles crouching behind barricades in city streets. That technique, which our brass hats could easily master however they might scorn it, has no meaning today. The revolutionary struggle against fascism is a world civil war; and it is as much a political war as a military and economic one. To win that war calls for a revolution first in the official mind. Boundaries must be

forgotten, national political divisions ignored or used only as strategic fronts, people accepted as allies or enemies according to their allegiance to principles of action without regard to their national origin. In that war words must be used as weapons and social change as a *Panzer* division.

Let us look for a moment at France. Almost all the people of France are against Hitler. That is admitted to be true, but it is a fact the momentous importance of which has so far been practically ignored in the United States and Britain. Some modest uses have been made of it, to be sure. The organized supporters of de Gaulle put out propaganda against the Vichy collaborationists; the short-wave radio station in Boston and the BBC in London send messages of appeal and encouragement to the French people. But while Britain continues to support de Gaulle's military efforts, it has recognized no anti-Vichy, anti-Axis French government. And the United States recognizes Vichy and until yesterday continued its futile gestures of compromise and appeasement.

How are we to help the French people organize their smoldering resistance to the Nazis? There is only one way. Washington should send funds and help to every center of dissidence in France—to every local labor organization, to the Masons, to the surviving shreds of political opposition. Washington should send in agents—democratic revolutionary agents—to find what is going on and encourage resistance, to sow seeds of discontent even in the ranks of Vichy officialdom. France is not solidified in the Nazi mold; it is a ferment of potential rebellion. It is not impossible that with sufficient encouragement from Washington a new French government might be created, even now, which would win the confidence of the people and around which the forces of de Gaulle and the anti-Vichy elements in the French North African army could rally.

The same technique should be adapted to every occupied country. In this day of mechanized warfare, the best revolutionary weapon is industrial sabotage. It is being used throughout the Continent, but its efficiency could be immensely increased if organizers from the United States and Britain—particularly refugees with experience in the anti-Nazi struggle—were financed and sent to Europe to help coordinate this effort. Sabotage against Hitler's economic war machine should be organized on a Continent-wide scale. And the spoken word should be used with more tactical skill. The two Western democracies are brilliantly supplied with trained anti-fascist propagandists from Europe, men and women known to their fellow-countrymen. Why aren't they used—systematically and all day long—to penetrate the barriers of the captive nations with promises of help and reassurance? The radio can be made a deadly weapon of anti-fascist revolution; so far its use has been timid and correct and

largely ineffective. Only by bold and imaginative collaboration with the democratic energies of the people can the ground be prepared for a final successful invasion of Hitler's conquered Continent.

Appeasers can't do that job. But let us assume that the Roosevelt Administration, openly committed to a finish fight against Nazism, relieves the appeasers of their power; it will have to do so if a strong policy is to be carried through. But neither can conservative bureaucrats do it, however honestly they may desire the defeat of Hitler. A democratic counter-revolution can be made—need it be said?—only by men and women who combine uncompromising democratic convictions with political wisdom and an aptitude for revolutionary technique. When Poland was invaded, the most important army leaders clung to their belief in the offensive value of the cavalry charge. Nazi tanks rolled that tradition into the Polish earth. But it was no more ridiculous than the attitude of our own officials toward Nazi political warfare. They see it going on and deplore it; but do they understand that it can never be combated by ordinary diplomatic and juridical methods? Not yet. They have not accepted the full meaning of the war. They still think in terms of the production and transportation of weapons and of battles on sea and land. They refuse to understand that the terrible power of the German army has other sources as important as these: that Germany is strong because its enemies are weak; that the hunger and insecurity and inequalities of modern capitalism have given Hitler his political strength. Does it matter that what he offers is only a brutal falsification of the creed of social decency? It is enough that he offers something new, while the old bureaucrats cling to the belief that the existing system is basically sound and after the war can be mended here and there and used again without serious alteration.

It is this belief that places the democratic cause in mortal danger today. The men who run our country and run our defense program are unprepared to make a revolution. They don't even recognize the need for it. They know that we face a crisis, and they accept the necessity of a defense program which will in some measure temporarily dislocate business and our national life—though if possible without reducing profits. But the idea of committing this nation to an "all-out" effort to create a system which offers the people security as well as freedom and counters the Nazi political attack with an impregnable social defense is beyond their reach.

It is not too much to say that if such men continue to run the war, here and in Britain, the war is lost. But we should not for one moment assume that they must continue to run it. In Britain their control has been at least weakened by the vigor and imagination of Winston Churchill and by the effective work of the Labor men in the Cabinet. In the United States they face opposition

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from the genuine New Dealers—including the President himself—in the national Administration. More and more, and as rapidly as possible, we must bring to positions of power men who understand that the people of the world—Americans included—will wage a successful war against Nazi domination only if they feel under their feet the solid earth of democratic reality; who know that we are fighting to make a new world, not to save an old one. Only such men can win the war, because only they can in honesty set up a standard for democratic revolt.

This is the challenge the last democracies face in their hour of greatest danger.

The Shape of Things

THE BITTERNESS WITH WHICH THE STRUGGLE in the eastern Mediterranean is being fought, on its scattered fronts, is sufficient evidence of its importance. The war will not be won or lost there, but its outcome will at least be forecast by the result of the campaigns in Crete and Iraq and Syria and East Africa. As we go to press, the desperate battle for Crete is still in the balance. The skies continue to rain down Nazi parachutists, and the Germans are reported to have succeeded in equipping them from the air with light tanks and guns. On land the battle continues to sway bloodily but indecisively. The British and Greek forces under General Freyberg have recaptured control of Candia and Retimo in the center of the island, but the Nazis have maintained their hold on the Maleme airport and have begun a drive toward Suda Bay. The Nazi claim that they have destroyed the cruiser section of the British Mediterranean fleet is undoubtedly exaggerated, but reports from London admitting the loss of two cruisers and four destroyers and damage to several other ships testify to the terrible efficacy of the Nazi air arm even against powerful naval units.

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THE BATTLE FOR CRETE IS ONLY A PART OF the larger struggle for the control of the Mediterranean. Crete itself is important as a base of operations within easy flying range of Port Said and Alexandria; it could be used by the Germans to guard the sea route to Syria. And, most important perhaps, its capture would prove that troops can be landed and supplied from the air even under the guns of powerful shore and naval units. This all-out battle between bomber and warship may not only decide the control of the Mediterranean but provide crucial information on which the Nazi High Command can decide whether or not to attempt the long-delayed invasion of England.

THE HOOD HAS BEEN RAPIDLY AND AMPLY avenged by the sinking of the Bismarck. This is more than a blow for a blow, since the Bismarck was much newer and more powerful than the British battle cruiser. Moreover, Germany has but few battleships and can spare the loss of one less easily than Britain. It is rather ironical, though, that the British victory should have been made possible by air power rather than sea power, and study of the battle ought to encourage furious thinking on the part of naval strategists. Every naval battle in this war makes it clearer that command of the seas cannot be secured by monster battleships unless they are supported by a large and powerful air fleet.

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IT WAS PROBABLY NO COINCIDENCE THAT immediately after the sinking of the Hood within the American patrolled area Admiral Erich Räder gave an interview to a Japanese journalist threatening America. Warning against any attempt to convoy ships carrying contraband, Admiral Räder said that German naval forces would "if need be resort to arms if American warships should try to prevent them from exercising their right" to sink enemy merchant ships. The Admiral also complained against the American patrol system and hinted that American communication to the British of the positions of German naval units might be treated as an act of war. At the same time he protested that Germany had no intention of invading the Western Hemisphere. This mixture of threats and blandishments is a well-tried Nazi recipe for softening intended victims.

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EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER, WRITING IN THE *Chicago Daily News* and the *New York Post*, presents what he says are the authentic terms of the German ultimatum accepted by Vichy. We quote them in full:

Defend your empire; retake those portions of your empire which you have lost; supply yourself freely and fully from your empire—and, at the coming peace conference, Germany will permit France to preserve its empire intact because you will have proved your right to keep it. If, however, France fails to do any of these things, then the victorious Axis powers will strip conquered France to the bone.

As Mr. Mowrer points out, those few words describe all Hitler now needs in the way of French subservience and assistance. The ultimatum obligates Vichy to reconquer the Free French territories which have acknowledged the leadership of General de Gaulle, and to protect French ships attempting to run the British blockade with goods from the colonies. And this, in turn, means certain war between France and Britain. It is a clever formula, and it leaves Vichy few fields on which to defend that "honor" so often upon the tongues of the men who betrayed it.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SIGNED THE FULMER BILL which raises the rate of government crop loans to 85 per cent of so-called "parity" in exchange for a cut of some \$200,000,000 in direct parity payments to farmers. The huge crop loans, together with \$212,000,000 in parity payments and \$500,000,000 in soil-conservation payments already approved by both houses of Congress, would bring the farmer's return on his crops to a full 100 per cent "parity." On the surface it seems only fair that farmers should share in rising prosperity by obtaining full "parity." Many labor unions have won increases in pay, and industrial profits are at boom levels. Actually, however, the "parity" that the farmers are demanding—and are apparently in a position to obtain—is an unjustifiable standard. It is based on a brief pre-war period when farm prices were relatively higher than in any other period in our history owing to a series of crop failures abroad. Since that time there have been striking increases in the output per farmer of many of the leading crops as well as a catastrophic change in marketing possibilities. An agricultural policy which ignores these changes is unsound in normal times; in a defense emergency such as the present one it may be disastrous. Farm leaders concede that the program will increase the cost of living at least 5 per cent. Most economists believe that the rise will be at least 10 per cent. Such an increase can hardly fail to provoke a whole new series of defense strikes, which will lead, in turn, to higher prices for manufactured articles, if not uncontrolled inflation. This would bring the farmers back to the pork barrel again, little, if any, better off for their haul. The Fulmer bill should have been vetoed. Since it has become law, we must steel ourselves for a repetition of the price spiral of 1915-16.

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HIGH LIGHTS AND RANDOM THOUGHTS AT the America First rally in Madison Square Garden: John T. Flynn warning that war will put American fascists in power, and at the same time wondering querulously why Bundsmen and fascist riffraff had come to cheer at his keep-America-out-of-war meeting. . . . Norman Thomas, the Socialist, conjuring up a Utopia for Americans Only, resigned, presumably, to letting the International, which, in the words of his party's battle song, "shall be the human race," shift for itself in a Nazi Europe. . . . Citizen Lindbergh hinting darkly that the country demands "an explanation of what happened at the elections last November"—an election he compared to a German poll in which Hitler should run against Göring. . . . Senator Wheeler giving Lindbergh an object lesson in rabble-rousing by pretending that his opponents, in quivering panic, fear *Panzer* divisions on Broadway and parachutists in Montana. . . . Chairman Flynn boasting that all the speakers were Americans in contrast to the shameful rally of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding

the Allies, at which representatives of the conquered European countries had the audacity to speak in public. . . . The insistence of all the speakers that England should win but that we must risk nothing to help it win; that we are in grave danger of defeat if we fight alongside England but can never lose if we face a fascist world alone; that we are doomed to fascism if we fight; that interventionists are defeatists for saying we are doomed to fascism if we don't fight; that what this country needs is clear-headed leadership—in fact, their leadership.

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THE NATIONAL NUTRITION CONFERENCE FOR Defense, held in Washington this week, tackled one of the least spectacular but one of the most urgent aspects of the defense problem. In these days when everything from athletic contests to church socials is cloaked in the magic word "defense," there is a tendency to ridicule that tag when it is attached to activities not immediately connected with the training of soldiers or the production of guns and tanks. But the emergency has aroused an understanding and appreciation of the importance of nutrition such as never before existed. Adequate nutrition would not only save millions of man-hours of labor that are now lost through unnecessary sickness but would increase the efficiency of almost all workers. With the aid of new diets and vitamin-enriched foods it is possible for the American people to achieve adequate nutrition standards without excessive cost and without serious interference with present food habits. This goal cannot be achieved, however, as long as a third of America's families have incomes of less than \$800, or as long as educational facilities are as poor as they are in many parts of the country. There is every evidence that the Nutrition Conference recognizes the breadth of its problem, and its recommendations should be heeded.

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BY SMOKING OUT DR. KURT RIETH, GERMAN Minister in Vienna at the time Premier Dollfuss was murdered, the New York *Herald Tribune* has scored a beat and performed a public service. Like Dr. Westrick, the Nazi agent exposed by the same newspaper last summer, Dr. Rieth appears to be interested in oil, and one of his missions here, it is reported, is to persuade American oil companies to sell their European properties at bargain prices. Standard Oil of New Jersey has, for instance, a large Hungarian subsidiary which the Nazis would like to take over, as well as important distributing interests in most of the occupied countries. The Germans, of course, have full use of these properties, none of which are returning a penny at present to their American owners. Hence it is supposed in Berlin that an offer to pay, say, 25 cents on the dollar, to American companies which have kissed these investments goodbye would be accepted

as a generous gesture. The necessary dollars could, presumably, be provided out of the gold and loot of the occupied countries. There is no doubt that many American oil concerns would be glad to cut their losses in Europe, but their executives are extremely chary of dealing with Nazi agents. Dr. Rieth has been introducing himself around town as the "very dear friend" of Walter C. Teagle, chairman of Standard Oil of New Jersey, who denies ever having met or communicated with him. BARRICADED in his \$600-a-month suite at the Waldorf-Astoria, Rieth has explained by telephone that he is on "a purely personal financial mission." But no German is allowed to take more than ten marks abroad unless the Nazi government expects to profit by his journey. Won't the Dies committee subpoena Dr. Rieth and ask him to explain his business, including his Latin American activities, in detail?

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HARRY BENNETT, WHO HAS RULED THE FORD kingdom these many years, greeted the overwhelming victory of the United Automobile Workers in last week's Labor Board election with a statement rich in spleen. "It's a great victory," he said, "for the Communist Party, Governor Murray D. Van Wagoner, and the National Labor Relations Board." He went on to say, presumably with a straight face as well as a long one, "The law provides that we must live with them and *we never violate the law* (italics ours)." I. A. Capizzi, Ford counsel, who never goes anywhere without his pet red herring, said that the objective of the U. A. W. is to prepare for the "Communist seizure of governmental power." He also said the company would deal with the automobile workers "because the law says we must," but declared as well that it will continue to denounce the Wagner Act as tyrannical in concept, theory, and practice. The U. A. W. has suggested that bygones be bygones. If Henry Ford wishes to regain the prestige and the sales he has lost in four years of consistent violation of the law he will relegate his two leading bygones, Bennett and Capizzi, to one of his museums. And he might throw in W. J. Cameron for good measure.

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LAST WEEK THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST* either abandoned its isolationist crusade or reaffirmed it. We don't quite know which. It printed an editorial saying in bold and unequivocal language that it still believed everything it had printed in opposition to the Lend-Lease law and all other steps in support of Britain; that it considered the United States hopelessly unprepared to carry out the obligations it had assumed; but that since the country had none the less blundered into war against the *Post's* advice, the *Post* would support the government. It would do so because a refusal now to join in the struggle against Hitler would expose us to

the possibility of "national death." "If we turn back," says this astonishing pronouncement, "we shall be remembered forever as the Falstaff nation of the world, boasting of a power it did not really possess. . . ." So, hooray—from last week on—for the war we are unprepared to fight. This is the *Saturday Evening Post's* position. But one is tempted to apply a Freudian test to its sincerity, because the words quoted above did not actually appear in the magazine; they are taken from a press release. The words the *Post* printed were these: ". . . boasting of a power *it did really possess.*" Were the editors, perhaps unconsciously, repudiating their own expressed contempt for the nation's strength? The psychoanalytic friend who pointed out the discrepancy insists this is so; we are inclined, more prosaically, to blame it on a patriotic or careless compositor. Whatever the explanation, the truth is as it appears in the magazine. The United States does possess the power it boasts of; it has only to organize that power and throw it into the balance against fascist tyranny, in defiance of the defeatist pleas, past and present, of the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Wall Street's Two Wars

WARS are won by courage, not complacency, and the pessimism which envelops Washington as the defense program passes its first birthday is a hopeful sign. It was time that we came out from under the spell of our own headlines and began to realize that there is more to the job of arming America than working out programs on paper and clearing enormous contracts. The aluminum shortage discussed by our Washington editor last week seems to have done more than any other single event to shock even conservatives into a recognition of the need for government participation in production. The most sensational revelation as to this shortage was made last Saturday in a Washington dispatch from the New York *Herald Tribune's* aviation expert, C. B. Allen. Allen reported that work on the great Boeing bombers "ceased entirely early this month and will not be resumed until some time in July." Although Allen says that "no actual shortage of aluminum is or has been involved in this situation," work ceased for lack of aluminum. We confess that the subtle distinction between a lack of aluminum and a shortage of aluminum is beyond us.

Whether there is a lack of aluminum or just a plain shortage, the Administration seems determined to remedy it, despite OPM hostility to any moves which endanger the Aluminum Company's monopoly. R. S. Reynolds of Reynolds Metals explained at a press conference in Washington last week that the RFC is preparing to spend \$300,000,000 on government aluminum-producing plants to be operated by the Aluminum Com-

pany, Reynolds Metals, and Bohn Aluminum. The last, hitherto a fabricating company, will now become Alcoa's second government-encouraged competitor in a field Alcoa has monopolized since 1903. Since the \$20,000,000 loan made last summer to Reynolds has increased our aluminum-producing capacity for next year by 100,000,000 pounds, presumably the \$300,000,000 program will boost production by 1,500,000,000 pounds. This begins to sound like planning on the right scale.

Estimates of our need for aluminum seem to be rising steadily. Since last week's issue appeared, William S. Knudsen has said that we would need 1,600,000,000 pounds next year for direct military purposes alone, excluding civilian and British needs. Though Mr. Knudsen now, months later than he should have done so, at last recognizes an aluminum shortage, he is still opposing expansion of steel capacity. He turned thumbs down on Henry J. Kaiser's proposal for a \$150,000,000 new steel plant on the Pacific Coast. Mr. Knudsen's remark that "we wouldn't know what to do with 30,000,000 tons more of steel if we had it" is likely to rank high among the fatuities voiced in this war. A shortage of structural steel is already delaying the new Midwest bomber assembly plants, and as Mr. Stone's Washington letter this week reveals, a shortage of steel plates haunts our ship-building program. Runner-up to Knudsen's remark among the week's inanities was Hugh Johnson's statement, "If there is one slight, solitary case of holding back of all-out effort by any industry or any group or unit of industry, I have yet to hear it." Old Iron Pants must be in seclusion.

The temper of the Administration is to let the needs of defense tread on the tender toes of monopoly. A bill adding \$1,500,000,000 to the lending power of the RFC and allowing it to enter any business whatsoever at home or abroad in the interest of defense quietly passed the Senate a week ago last Friday and is now in the Rules Committee of the House. True, it was amended in the Senate so that none of the funds might be spent on St. Lawrence, Passamaquoddy, or other power projects, and there were a few cries of "socialism" and "fascism," but much less opposition than one would have expected. The Truman committee hearings on aluminum showed conservative Republican Senators like Ball of Minnesota and Brewster of Maine prepared to countenance vigorous government interference with monopoly in the interests of defense.

A battle may yet break out in the House during the coming week over the RFC bill, but we believe it will pass. This measure and the new plans for aluminum expansion have stirred misgivings, and the Charlie McCarthys of monopoly are beginning to issue plaintive sounds. Mark Sullivan rises to ask in querulous tones whether the New Dealers are most interested in defeating Hitler or bringing about socialism, and David Law-

rence sees "favoritism and special privilege" in the determination of the government to arrange more aluminum for us and some competition for the aluminum monopoly. In the *Wall Street Journal's* opinion the government's decision "to invest \$300,000,000 in aluminum manufacturing adds to the evidence that there are two wars that are troubling private finance, the one abroad and the one at home." The one at home seems to give some of our dollar-a-year monopolists more concern than the one abroad.

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Shipping and Admiral Land

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 24

NOW that Admiral Emory S. Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission, has told the Truman committee how big and bold he would be in breaking the San Francisco shipyard strike, I think he ought to be recalled and asked how big and bold he is prepared to be in dealing with the private interests which are slowing up our construction program. Admiral Land thought there was "justification for every possible step the government can take, up to and including the use of United States forces, to take those picket lines away so people who want to go to work can go to work." The force of this call to arms was somewhat weakened when Senator Brewster, Maine Republican, asked him if the picket lines were preventing men from going to work. "Not to my knowledge," was the Admiral's answer. The Admiral's own enthusiasm for forthright measures abated visibly when Senator Connally of Texas said he believed the government ought to conscript the shipyards. "I believe that the government ought to be producing ships itself," the Senator declared. "I don't know about that," was the Admiral's alarmed reply.

I am not prepared to make a report on the strike itself, though I notice that our old friend, and the Admiral's old friend, Bethlehem Steel, is right up in front with the principal trouble-makers. Whatever the issues in the other San Francisco yards, the strikers certainly seem to have a clear grievance against Bethlehem, which has refused to sign the master agreement for the Pacific Coast and declines to make any agreements with the unions. It may be that Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph Bard was referring to Bethlehem when he said the strike was caused by "selfish or subversive interests," but on extended consideration I am inclined to doubt it. Bethlehem can kick the navy in the teeth on contracts, provoke strikes by refusing to obey the laws, and generally comport itself like a cave man of industry—the navy loves it just the same. One sometimes wonders whether Bethlehem exists to supply the navy or the navy to supply Bethlehem. Admirals who know the right answer enter into their reward on retirement by becoming Bethlehem's consultants. There is nothing like a hereafter to make men behave themselves.

I think that this would be a good time for the Truman committee to examine the mote in Admiral Land's own eye. I have in mind the story of the Admiral's failure to utilize idle shipyards in the Great Lakes—and elsewhere—at a time when ship construction, his responsibility, is

among the most urgent of our needs if we are to save Great Britain. On the basis of the four months ended May 1, the British are now losing shipping at the rate of 6,400,000 tons a year, as compared with the 4,500,000 tons they lost in the first two and a half years of the last war. We have a shortage of shipping to bring bauxite from the Guianas for the manufacture of aluminum, and to bring rubber and other materials from the Dutch East Indies. A bill introduced by Senator Brown of Michigan a few days ago to end the American monopoly of shipping in the Great Lakes is supported by data showing that we have not enough ships to carry the Lake Superior ore needed by our steel mills. Our two-ocean navy program is not scheduled for completion until 1947; its urgency is indicated by a Navy Department report issued the first of this year revealing that our total combatant tonnage of 1,250,000 is topped by the 1,835,000 of the German, Italian, and Japanese navies combined. If the French navy is added, the total is 2,145,000 tons. These figures prove that we need the British as badly as they need us.

Yet despite these enormous needs, and despite the fact that the shipbuilding capacity of Hitler's New Order is reported as seven times our own, the scandalous fact remains that we have idle shipyards—and not only on the Great Lakes but even along the coast—while the big shipbuilding concerns are glutted with orders. The New York Shipbuilding Company, for example, with a half-billion-dollar backlog, has as much work as it can handle for five years. In shipping, as in other fields of defense, we tend to forget that figures on orders placed are not the same as deliveries obtained. Of 54 cruisers authorized, the latest figures show 9 on the ways, 45 on the order books. Of 205 destroyers authorized, 26 are actually being built. This is wonderful business for the big yards, but it spells trouble for us. In a critical emergency the big companies and the admirals who see eye to eye with them are in no mood for emergency measures. We had 1,099 slipways working in 223 yards during the last war; we have only 84 in 23 yards today. A New York *Times* editorial last December 21 stressed the urgency of the problem and at the same time threw a curious light on the role of our steel companies, which control many of our big shipbuilding companies and sell themselves steel. The *Times* said that only two of the old World War shipyards were being used and that a "relatively simple reconditioning" would place the others back in production. "It is true," the New York *Times* reflected, "that

we may have a shortage of steel plates for shipbuilding, partly because of our naval program, *partly because of our sales to Japan*, but wooden ships would be just as serviceable today" (my italics). If our steel magnates go on selling steel plates to Japan, they might at least be good enough to let us build a few wooden ships.

On the Great Lakes are ten companies which can build steel ships and a much larger number which can build wooden ships. Four of the Great Lakes yards have been building lake carriers comparable in size to destroyers and cruisers. These companies have extensive auxiliary facilities—engine works and electrical, ironworking, boiler, and pipe shops. There are many idle and abandoned yards which could easily be reconditioned. In the last war the Lakes yards produced 286 small cargo vessels, more than sensational Hog Island produced. Some of the obstacles to use of these yards are serious; some are laughable. Spokesmen for smaller shipping interests on the Lakes have been trying since the war began to get Admiral Land to wake up to the part they could play

in construction. I have a file of their correspondence. The War Department built the Chicago ship canal with drawbridges but has yet to put in lifting facilities; when these are added boats can go through the canal and be floated down the Mississippi on pontoons. Admiral Land ignored the idea until a suggestion even more dangerous to the steel and shipping crowd made its appearance on the horizon: one of the arguments for the St. Lawrence waterway is that cruisers, which take three years to build, could be shifted to Lakes yards; the waterway would be ready for the cruisers by the time they were completed. Space would then become available in the great coastal yards for cargo boats, which can be built much faster; we could get five cargo boats for every cruiser. But the steel companies, which control the big yards both on the Lakes and on the coast, are opposed to the suggestion. And so is Admiral Land, who dislikes the St. Lawrence project anyway because he dislikes public power. As I said, Admiral Land is ready to do anything to speed shipbuilding—well, almost anything.

Russia's Threat to India

BY W. E. LUCAS

FOR three-quarters of a century the Russian boggy has gibbered at India across the mountainous wastes of Afghanistan and disturbed the peaceful dreams of the British military strategists at Simla. The preoccupation of the army staff in India with the problem of a Russian invasion always seemed to me, during my stay in India, to be rather childish, but perhaps the boggy had internal political uses, since it was often cited as an excuse for keeping about 70,000 British troops in the country. Certainly in the days following the last war the Russian threat struck me as something left over from a bad dream of another age. Apart from the fact that the Soviets were heavily engaged on their own home front and had been driven from their bridgehead in northern Persia, the geographical obstacles to an invasion seemed insuperable. How was an army to be transported five hundred miles from the nearest Russian railhead across the desolation of Afghanistan, and how could it bring up the equipment to assault the well-fortified British lines at the Khyber Pass and Quetta?

The same geographical difficulties exist today. But now the Russian threat forms part of a formidable totalitarian offensive on the British Empire in the East. Today India's safety cannot be taken as axiomatic; the battles now developing on the fringes of the eastern Mediterranean will have a direct bearing on its future.

The Soviet Union is evidently beginning to bestir it-

self in the Middle East. Russian pilots are reported to be volunteering for the Iraqi air force, and Soviet pressure on Iran is increasing. Unrelated to anything else, these developments would not be important, but when they are coupled with indications of a closer Berlin-Moscow alliance and with the Nazi drive in the Near East they take on a special interest. Russia is a vast, almost landlocked continent which must naturally seek outlets to the sea, and its recent surrender of rights on the Danube may well have been induced by the promise of access to the Indian Ocean through Persia. This would mean that the movements in Iraq and Iran are the opening stages of a two-pronged Nazi-Soviet drive toward the East, Germany taking the low road via the Suez Canal and Mesopotamia and Russia the high road via Persia, to join hands perhaps with the Japanese in India.

At the moment the German Command can merely hope that India will become an embarrassment to the British, forcing them to weaken the military forces under the command of General Wavell in the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia. If another potential battle front can be created in India, more British man-power and equipment must be concentrated there than heretofore. How far the Nazis can succeed in this plan will depend upon the effect on the 78,000,000 Moslems in India of events now taking place in the Arabic world of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Egypt, and upon the ability of the Russians to goad into

activity the extreme elements of the Congress Party and to stir up the turbulent tribes of the Northwest Frontier Province.

The pro-Axis coup d'état in Iraq was something more than a palace revolt in a minor Oriental state. It had repercussions from Morocco to the Jumma Musjid in Delhi. It was potentially one of the most serious blows yet struck at the hard-pressed British Empire. Hitler has put his finger into the Arab lake and churned up a storm. The oil wells in Iraq and Iran are of immense value, but with the Moslem world in turmoil still richer prizes are within his grasp. By this one stroke the Nazis softened the mortar that holds together the wall of British defenses guarding the two great routes to the East, via Suez and the Persian Gulf. While Hitler masses his forces against the British positions in the Middle East, it may be expected that he will expand to the utmost his fifth-column activities in India, a country upon which this defensive line depends.

At first glance India would seem an admirable place in which to stir up hostility to the British. A vast country with three times the population of the United States, it is a welter of languages, religions, and customs, with deeply divided loyalties. For decades a growing Congress Party has been fighting the British rule in India and pressing for independence. Nevertheless, and this is the fundamental point, it does not favor giving aid to the Nazis. India is a country of startling contrasts, but there could be no stranger spectacle than that of the great Indian nationalist leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, being haled off to jail with a prayer for a British victory on his lips.

It is often difficult for the Westerner to follow the logic of Indian thought. It seems inconsistent that now, when the Congress Party has a golden opportunity to force a complete British capitulation to its demands, Mahatma Gandhi refuses to take advantage of England's plight. In spite of his insistence on complete independence for India, he recognizes the necessity for cooperation with England; but it must be a cooperation on Indian and not on British terms. He has promised to do nothing that will hinder Britain's full prosecution of the war, and as long as he remains the head of the Congress Party it is difficult to believe that Nazi attempts to penetrate its ranks will have any success.

It is for this reason that the job of fomenting trouble in the extreme left wing of the party will be left to the Soviets. Although the Comintern has never exercised much influence in India, the Communist ideology has made an appeal to the extreme socialists. Jawaharlal Nehru, viewing the poverty among the peasantry of the United Provinces, has advocated a fundamental reorganization of the rural economy patterned to some degree on the Soviet model, although he can in no sense be con-

sidered a Communist Party follower. Chandra Bose in Calcutta, who has always been an extremist as well as an opportunist, leads a section that believes in a revolution by violence. The terrorists in Bengal, who, though disowned by Gandhi and the more moderate Congress leaders, were the main thorn in the British side in the serious days of a decade ago, had certain affiliations with the Communists, and it is this group which might provide a fertile seed bed for Soviet intrigue. At the present time there seems little likelihood of the Moslems in India answering the call to a holy war against the British. During the First World War the Ali brothers with their large Mohammedan following were one of the main props of the Congress movement for national independence, but today there is no such unity. The constitutional reforms of recent years have emphasized the political split between influential Moslem groups and the main body of the Hindus under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Moslems are a minority race, and they owe their present privileged position in the provincial and federal political setup to the British overlordship in India. It is only through a British victory that they can expect to maintain or improve the constitutional and economic advantages they now enjoy. And it is they who form the great reservoir of fighting men for the Indian army.

But outside India in the far north are the restless tribes of the Northwest Frontier, whose passions can always be played upon to produce open warfare, not for any political ideal, but for the possible loot in the fertile plains of the Punjab. While the Indian police forces may be fully competent to deal with civil disorders inspired by terrorist groups, the Northwest Frontier can present problems of a serious military nature. The campaign waged in this district after the end of the Great War was of major proportions and kept a very considerable number of British and Indian troops busy for more than a year. The same thing might happen today. It is highly probable, in fact, that the Axis and its Soviet partner, profiting from Mohammedan reaction to events in the Near East, will make every effort to foment an attack on Britain from this quarter. With a complete understanding between Hitler and Stalin, Russian volunteers might be employed, as they were in Spain, to stiffen the morale of the local tribal levies and to provide the technical knowledge required by the use of modern weapons. If Soviet troops were concentrated on the Persian frontier and in Turkestan the Afghans also might be encouraged to undertake a military venture.

The Russian bogey is again peering over the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas. Even if the long dreamed-of invasion is not attempted, British awareness of the danger is a valuable asset to Nazi plans in the eastern Mediterranean. The British forces defending the Middle East are spread dangerously thin.

Judgment Day for Radio

BY D. A. SAUNDERS

WHEN President William S. Paley of the Columbia Broadcasting System uses such phrases as "calculated to torpedo the existing broadcasting structure" and "the first paralyzing blow struck at freedom of the air" to describe changes in the organization of radio broadcasting recently ordered by the Federal Communications Commission; and when President Neville Miller of the National Association of Broadcasters chimes in with "usurpation of power . . . which menaces the freedom of the American system of broadcasting," you can be sure the broadcasters feel that their vital interests are affected. The entire radio field is indeed facing changes whose far-reaching implications can as yet barely be discerned.

Before the annual convention of the National Association of Broadcasters opened in St. Louis on May 12, many persons expected that the much-discussed feud between ASCAP and the major networks might generate some heat, but there was no premonition of three events which were to rock the radio industry and make the ASCAP affair look like a Sunday-school spitball fight. The first explosion occurred when the Federal Communications Commission on March 20 issued its Order No. 79, announcing the opening of a broad investigation into the question of whether the ownership and operation of radio stations by newspapers were in the public interest. The investigation would concern itself with both frequency-modulation (FM) applications and the acquisition of future standard broadcast stations by newspapers. Though the public has shown little awareness of the interlocking of newspapers and radio stations, the FCC has long been awake to the danger of a possible monopoly of the channels of communication. A few years ago, when two qualified applications were made for a station in Port Huron, Michigan, the FCC granted the application of the non-newspaper group on the ground that the community deserved "a medium for the dissemination of news and information to the public which will be independent of and afford a degree of competition to other such media in the area." In the twenties about 10 per cent of the radio stations were owned by newspapers; today more than one-third of all stations are so owned. Moreover, newspaper radio chains, such as the Gannett chain of eight stations, have been developed. In nearly a hundred communities the one local radio station is owned by the one local newspaper.

The next bombshell was the issuance of a long-delayed FCC "Report on Chain Broadcasting." It was

this which called forth the trumpeting from the presidents of the NAB and CBS quoted above. Dated May, 1941, the report ordered eight changes of great importance. (1) The operation of more than one nation-wide network by a single organization was prohibited. In its accompanying remarks the commission particularly condemned the NBC Blue Network as being chiefly a fictitious network operated for bargaining purposes, observing that 100 stations are shifted indiscriminately from Blue to Red Network and back again, and that NBC makes little distinction between the two in its operating and auditing departments. Since NBC is the only company which operates two nation-wide networks, the Blue Network is apparently earmarked for dissolution. (2) The commission stated that the ownership by one network organization of two stations in the same area, or of a single station completely dominating an area, was not in the public interest. At present NBC owns two stations in New York, Chicago, Washington, and San Francisco, and of these eight stations seven broadcast on the highest power now allowed—50,000 watts. Columbia owns eight stations, but no more than one in any city; Mutual owns no stations at all. Thus by the terms of the order NBC is required to dispose of four of its most powerful stations, and Columbia may be affected in some areas. (3) No "exclusive" contract may be signed; such a contract prevents a station affiliated with one network from carrying programs of other networks. Nearly all present contracts include this prohibition. (4) No station may have "exclusive territorial rights"—that is, no station may prevent another station in the same area from broadcasting a network program which it has rejected. Present practices allow a station both to reject a program and to prevent its broadcast by a competing station. (5) "Optional time" contracts are prohibited. Under these contracts networks may order the cancelation of local programs in certain specified hours to allow the broadcast of a network program instead. (6) Any local station is allowed to reject any program "which the station reasonably believes to be unsatisfactory or unsuitable," or which "in its opinion is contrary to the public interest"; and the local station may reject any network program to substitute "a program of local or national importance." (7) No contract of a network with an affiliated station may run for longer than one year. At present contracts run for five years. (8) Networks are prohibited from influencing the rates charged by local stations. This refers to the practice of NBC and

CBS—but not Mutual—of preventing the local station, by contract or penalty, from selling time at a rate lower than that charged by the network for that station.

These far-reaching orders were issued by the FCC with a weather eye sharply cocked for possible court battles. Thus every order, except the one referring to outright ownership of stations by networks, is phrased in terms of what the individual station may do. Seven of the eight orders begin, "No license shall be granted to a standard broadcast station having any contract . . . with a network organization which provides," etc. The legal powers of the FCC are defined in terms of individual stations.

The third and cruelest blow to the networks was the defection of one of their number: the Mutual Broadcasting System is taking a stand on current issues diametrically opposed to that of NBC and CBS. The chief reason for this split seems to be that since Mutual is a cooperative network owned and operated by the stations themselves, with pro-rata distribution of profits or assessments for losses, the prohibitions in the FCC orders in the main do not apply to Mutual. Also, Mutual is comparatively small potatoes beside the two other giant network organizations: though about one-fifth of all standard broadcast stations are affiliated with Mutual, their total power is about one-tenth that of NBC and CBS, and the gross intake of Mutual as a network is slightly less than one-tenth the combined intake of the other two.

The first sign of Mutual's defection came early this spring with the news that it was negotiating quietly with ASCAP for the return of ASCAP songs to the air, thus breaking the united network front. The directors of Mutual reached an agreement with ASCAP on May 1, and the contracts were submitted to member and affiliated stations for the required majority approval. Immediately the NAB and some Mutual member stations tried to have action withheld until after the NAB convention. The delay would have placed Mutual in a decidedly disadvantageous position, for if CBS and NBC pushed through the convention a resolution prohibiting separate agreements with ASCAP, Mutual would have to comply or leave the NAB. Representatives of Mutual stations met in St. Louis just before the convention, and after several stormy sessions a majority voted to sign the agreement with ASCAP. Thus any resolution adopted by the NAB convention would be beside the point as far as Mutual was concerned, and the other major networks were placed under strong competitive pressure to return ASCAP music to the air.

Another hint of Mutual's attitude was seen in its reaction to the FCC orders on chain broadcasting. While spokesmen for NBC, CBS, and the NAB were letting go with both barrels, Mutual's board chairman, Alfred McCosker, wired President Roosevelt that "many of the critics either have not read the report or reflect a vicious

partisan viewpoint." The telegram continued that though Mutual was adversely affected in some respects, it considered the report "highly commendable for its thoroughness, fairness, and long-range enlightened vision." Mutual's position was also indicated when WGN, key Mutual station in Chicago, withdrew from the Newspaper Radio Committee on the ground that the committee was fighting the battles of the major networks instead of concentrating on the newspaper-radio issue.

The Newspaper Radio Committee, representing radio stations owned by newspapers, was expected to answer the threat of the FCC investigation into newspaper-radio tie-ups. At two April meetings in New York the committee organized a steering group of nine and set out to raise a \$200,000 war chest by assessments on stations ranging from \$50 to \$10,000. Mark Ethridge of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* was selected as chairman at the first meeting, but he stepped down when President Roosevelt asked him to do a survey of the entire radio scene. In describing the situation to the committee, Ethridge warned the publisher-broadcasters against using newspaper editorial columns to build up their own radio stations, using the station to promote the interests of the newspaper, and offering newspaper space and radio time at joint rates. (The FCC in its hearings might well inquire why Ethridge found these cautions necessary.)

When the National Association of Broadcasters met on May 12 in St. Louis it had to deal with these combustible matters. The first blaze came when Ethridge resigned from his survey post because of his disapproval of the new FCC regulations for network broadcasting. Next the NAB board of directors disapproved the separate agreement between Mutual and ASCAP and reelected Neville Miller as NAB president. Whereupon some forty Mutual stations, including WOR in New York, WGN in Chicago, and the large Don Lee Network on the Pacific Coast, withdrew from the NAB. But the real convention fireworks came in the form of attacks upon the FCC and interchanges with FCC Chairman James L. Fly. Ethridge charged the commission with "bad temper, impatience, and vindictiveness," and asserted that broadcast licenses were "all too frequently" issued on the basis of "political pull." When Chairman Fly of the FCC was about to reply, the meeting was abruptly adjourned by President Miller. Fly refused to address any later session of the convention and the next day issued a stinging statement charging that the NAB was merely a front for the National and Columbia networks and that the networks planned to use licenses granted by the FCC to fight the new FCC orders.

That NBC and CBS would fight was evident. In anticipation of the new regulations NBC had quietly transferred from the Blue to the Red Network the 50,000-watt stations of KDKA in Pittsburgh, WBZ in Boston, and WBAL in Baltimore. To punish Mutual the NAB

helped form the Mutual Affiliates Association, composed of some forty Mutual affiliates which sided with the NAB, some of which were also connected with NBC or CBS.

Network strategy, however, will chiefly consist of legal action, political pressure, and a large-scale propaganda campaign. The legal action will probably begin in the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals, which has never been too friendly to the FCC. Even if they are defeated in the courts, the networks hope that they can gain time to marshal their enormous strength. Their propaganda resources include not only the two major networks themselves but the newspapers, which are girding for battle with the FCC over the issue of newspaper ownership of broadcasting stations. That they will make an all-out attack upon the FCC, with no holds barred, is indicated by a hastily issued CBS pamphlet which misinterprets both the nature and the significance of the new regulations. NBC will probably shed many public tears over the "unfortunate necessity" of dropping the Town Meeting of the Air, the National Farm and Home Hour, and other public favorites if its Blue Network is dissolved.

But the main weapon will be political pressure—the

CBS pamphlet was addressed in part to "government officials and others who seek a nation-wide radio audience." For years a broad Congressional investigation of radio has been in prospect, and nothing would suit the networks better than to turn such an investigation into an inquisition of the FCC. Senator White of Maine has already offered—and the NAB has promised to support—a Senate resolution calling for an investigation of the new FCC rules and deferment of their application until the inquiry is completed.

So far the White House has been carrying water on both shoulders. Mutual received White House thanks for its "fine telegram" supporting the new FCC regulations, but the next day the NAB was officially informed that this did not mean Presidential indorsement of the regulations, and two days later Presidential Secretary Early, commenting upon Mark Ethridge's attack upon the FCC, remarked that Mr. Ethridge was "a gentleman of great honesty and sincerity of purpose." All this may come under the heading of "smart politics," but without strong official and public support the FCC may be shorn of its powers as far as radio is concerned. If it is, the road back toward government supervision of radio will be long and hard.

Fate or Freedom?

BY AUREL KOLNAI

NAZI world tyranny, the accomplishment of which is in the making and may or may not be stopped, would be a thing of impossibility but for its mental background—the tyranny of fatality inherent in an impersonal process. It threatens to prove actually inevitable because we erroneously assume it to be substantially inevitable. We shall fail to prevent the triumph of Hitler's rule in so far as we submit to the belief that any alternative way out of the present crisis would be but slightly preferable, possibly even somewhat worse, or at any rate essentially equivalent to it. Too many of us indorse the fatal necessity of a "world revolution," a collectivist unification of human society, represented chiefly by the Third Reich's drive for world conquest, and acquiesce in the resigned belief that it would be futile to try to impede this process and perhaps rather harmful than otherwise to interfere with its evolution. Those of us who do not explicitly profess this faith are yet liable to be paralyzed in our actions by a half-unconscious admission of its possible truth. Unless we become fully conscious of the radical fallaciousness of that creed, we shall not be able to muster sufficient spiritual and moral energy to face and to overpower the

enemy; unless we experience and reaffirm the free spirit and will in ourselves we shall have no chance to save the freedom of mankind.

The tremendous efficiency of the enemy's material weapons, his ruthless fanaticism, the cunning strategy applied in the pursuit of his aims may to a certain degree account for his successes. The numbness and supineness of many of his victims, or victims to be, are explicable in part by their sheer terror and the objectively desperate position in which they are placed. Yet the most effective and poisonous of the enemy's devices is something that might well be called sorcery, or at least fascination. Fascination may not mean actual seduction; it is even compatible with a sort of impotent hatred in the victim. Neither, however, is it mere power to frighten or mere bluff. It is the ability to impress on one's adversary the belief that the power which summons him to surrender is an emanation of a "higher" kind of power, above any resistance by the ordinary means of brains and muscles; the expression of a "superior law" beyond the range of human decision and control. This pretense to magic is cloaked by up-to-date intellectual apparel. In an age which prides itself on its rationality but is by no means

immune to many forms of gullibility, which is trained to idolize notions dressed up as "scientific," and whose fad is sociology rather than demonology, the enemy will not indulge in ostensible sorcery; he will claim to incarnate, to borrow a phrase coined by American appeasers, "the wave of the future." By force of the law of nature, it is said, we are drifting into a collectivist order of far-reaching uniformity, ruled by maximum technical efficiency and subject to an omnipotent centralized government. Wisdom obliges us to offer sympathetic collaboration, which may entitle us to a more or less good place in the order to come.

The underlying assumptions, the concrete implications of this abject sophistry are manifold. A mechanical, linear, univocal trend of social evolution is overtly asserted or tacitly assumed. Functional efficiency is credited with an absolute meaning and acknowledged as an unchallengeable value. "Progress," instead of being merely appreciated as a gratifying phenomenon possible in certain historical phases, is worshiped as its own measure and as an automatic guaranty of the good state of man. Cooperation without regard to its content or aims, cooperation in the sense of clogs and wheels fitting well into a machine, is exalted to the rank of an unconditional good; conflict, strife, and dissension are labeled bad and despised as agents of "waste." If the balanced ethics of Christianity, of common sense, and of democracy—the ethics of justice, fairness, charity, liberty, personality, responsibility, mutuality, and truthfulness—are discarded, the narrow superstitions of pacifist ethics are welcomed, and free use is made of the phantoms of a smug pseudo-moral "idealism" or "perfectionism." Peace, no matter what peace, is proclaimed to be absolutely preferable to war, no matter for what ends it may be fought. War, the state of war, is the supreme evil, worse than any evil it is intended to avert, bound to conjure up the very evil it is meant to resist, the breeder of all evils (so they say); war provides no solution, war knows but losers on both sides, war is a mad raving devoid of sense and purpose. In particular, it is maintained that war to resist barbarian conquest cannot but precipitate the spread of barbarism; that war against fascists leads to fascism. If you put up military resistance to a foreign dictator, you will have to create your home dictator. If your home dictator uses his powers in the name of democracy, to save freedom, this will be but lip-service paid to ideals essentially forsaken, a mere difference in tags and labels; if your home dictatorship remains more humane and less total, it will prove inferior in the test of efficiency, and you will be beaten. Therefore do not move a finger against tyranny. If evil must come, let it come without vain efforts to escape it; let it come as smoothly as possible, and at the smallest cost. Since you must adapt yourself to reality, take care to do it on the most advantageous terms.

This is the spirit which kills civilization, the spirit

which—far more than the "law of social evolution" it advertises—insures the advent of the barbarian; the spirit strutting by in a hundred guises, right-wing and left-wing, capitalist and socialist, economic and idealistic, scientific and Christian, cheerful and mournful, patriotic and internationalist, prudish and worldly wise. It is the spirit which is hopeful about evil, suspicious of good; which condones magnanimously the enemy's crimes and inflates the failures of good-will; which trusts our enemies to be at bottom "men like us" but haunts us with the bogey of our becoming savages "like them" if we fight them; which warns us against meddling with power politics but admonishes us to make truce and traffic with power deified; which bemoans past blunders and protests against redeeming them; which slanders good men and finds fault with noble nations but justifies devilry with the artifices of psychology and interprets the march of the Beast in terms of sociology. It is a spirit with many faces and many names—call it optimism or pessimism, doctrinal pacifism or the apotheosis of cowardice, complacent hedonism or fastidious primness—but all its formulas are traceable to one common denominator, a fatalistic view of the destinies of mankind; and all its facets and falsehoods converge in one pivotal point, the basic denial of the free personality of man.

If one pseudo-democratic mouthpiece of Hitler states that the outcome of the present war is a matter of indifference since Britain does not in truth fight for democracy but, like the enemy, for "imperialist" aims, whereas another pundit of the same ilk affirms that Britain is "bound" to lose, standing as it does for senile and decayed values, thwarting the path of a youthful new world, the two arguments are rooted in a common ground of fallacy. It is this—that right is fundamentally alien to might; that there is no point in measuring historical decision by a moral standard.

This line of argument presupposes that morality must be not only distinct but separated from vital interests, and that outside the pale of celestial perfection moral diversities, moral "degrees" or "shades," are irrelevant; whereas the fact is that the self-interest of the British Commonwealth is identical with the interest we have in the survival of democracy, civilization, and decency, and that British victory or defeat will determine the difference of a world—from the moral viewpoint, in particular—for all the human species. The pessimist argument, again, is intended to bamboozle us into a belief which is not true and never will be true, no matter whether the British lose or win the war. Hundreds of times in history an older and therefore seemingly more worn-out system has warded off successfully the onset of a more recent and buoyant force; a civilized society has broken the apparently overwhelming power of the barbarian. If Britain finally loses the war, this will not happen because it has all the time been "fated" to lose it.

Perhaps Britain will lose the war just because the seer who forecasts its defeat has had such great means at his disposal to disseminate the poison of his creed, and has found so many fools to listen to him. Perhaps Britain will lose the war because such people as knew better have been too sluggish in assisting Britain's cause in the spiritual field. Perhaps, again, Britain will not lose the war at all—already it has shown some signs of deplorable senile obstinacy in dealing with the German bombers, though their planes fly with the winds of the future or with Mussolini's inevitably victorious youth—but even in that case it will be false to claim that Britain was all along “bound” to win. Let the enemy rejoice in his “certitude” of victory; we will rather say with the English poet, “But if he fail or if he win, to no good man is told.” Our business is not to scan the entrails of fate, but to fight and to help the fighters, each of us as best he can.

There exists no such thing as a prescribed path of “progress”—or even of “decay”—a rigid fatality of social evolution determined by “conditions.” Certainly conditions and trends exist, and it would be unwise to neglect them. There are limits set to man's freedom to hammer out his destiny; there are topical problems for which a relative solution must be found one way or the other; man must continually renounce certain good things in order to obtain others. Within a given setting of conditions, however, man is free to react differently and to envision different patterns of settlement; he is free to scale his needs from the necessary and urgent to what he may dispense with or postpone as a luxury; what becomes of him and his world depends on his choice and decision. Dialectical forces soaring above human thoughts, emotions, and wills are a piece of irrational mythology. If, for instance, some of the previsions of Marxism have come true, this is due less to the “scientific” exactitude of the Marxian prevision than to the efforts and policies of labor movements imbued with the Marxian vision. Similarly, fascism is not the “logical expression” of the concentration of capital on a large scale, not the “inevitable consequence” of mass unemployment, still less the “necessary outcome” of the Versailles treaty or of the unequal distribution of raw materials, nor again a stage in the impersonal antics of the *Weltgeist*. Allowing for all the complex factors which have made its growth possible, fascism is above all—as Lewis Mumford has simply and correctly put it—“the evil work of evil men.” The thesis that fascism develops automatically, step by step, not in fulfilment of an original conception but out of the requirements of modern warfare and war-time management of modern society, has acquired great popularity because it panders to the passive moods of cowardice, sloth, and selfishness, all too ready to identify the amenities of life with the essentials of liberty, and to confuse

discipline with servitude; because it suits the infantile pride in explaining human creations “satisfactorily,” as it were, by the pressure of materially palpable facts. Yet that thesis is manifestly and startlingly untrue. Fascism did involve conquest and, since the conquest happened to meet at last with opposition, war; but it was by no means born of the necessities of warfare; nor was it sponsored or imposed by men who had at the outset been non-fascists—liberals, conservatives, or any other brand of civilized beings. In no case has fascism displaced democracy as a result of war waged against fascists; on the contrary, the change has been brought about by peaceful surrender to the fascist aggressor or by the military victory of the fascist invader. War certainly breeds fascism if we stop in the middle of it instead of fighting it out, or if we conduct it so badly as to let the fascists win it. In briefer words, war breeds fascism if we omit to wage it.

It seems certain, indeed, that we have entered an era of mass civilization having of necessity many traits which distinguish it strongly from the liberal bourgeois democracy of our fathers' “golden” times. In some ways the “iron” times to come are certain to be less comfortable and delightful; in other ways, again, they are likely to denote a moral progress: to be superior in sincerity, earnestness, social equality, and responsibility. No “fate” wills it that they shall bring in their trail the extinction of human dignity and personality, of justice, fairness, and humility, of cultural heirlooms and creative impulses, of respect for objective truths and values. It is not infallibly true that Nazism owns the future; that communism owns the future; that the world is doomed to be cut up among four or five despotisms, divided by sullen jealousy but confederates in their zeal for iniquity and oppression. By the same token it is not true that democracy must perish. It is true, however, that democracy must either perish or remould itself so as to be able to meet the issue. It must become far more stern and militant, more concentrated and disciplined, more trained and certainly also more ruthless. There is no need meticulously to add that the limit must be drawn carefully lest that increasing ruthlessness should “lead straight to fascism”; for though fascism does imply callous and ferocious ruthlessness, its essence is by no means ruthlessness; and though by carrying ruthlessness very far you may obtain most unpleasant and undesirable results, you will never by that alone approach the fascist type of mind. You may well imprison a million spies and hostile propagandists, or suppress treasonable movements, or bomb a thousand towns in an enemy country, or annex a conquered province, or carry out boldly conscription of labor, or levy huge taxes on capital—without getting any nearer to such a tenet as that Mr. Roosevelt is always right, or that Mr. Churchill is the supreme arbiter of right and wrong, or that a small nation has no right to

existence, or that the strong must devour the weak, or that one race is intrinsically superior to others, or that no spiritual communion is possible between different racial types, or that an American should believe in a God who is the incarnation of the American people's soul, or that truth is a function of the Anglo-Saxon spirit.

Above all, if we want democracy to survive, we must make it more intelligent, more capable of discerning its enemies, more conscious of its own primary and basic meaning, less entangled in the secondary implications of its mode of life, less open to attack with the weapons provided by its own technical apparatus. In several well-meaning treatises on the crisis of democracy, the strange but characteristic theory can be found exposed that the preservation of democracy depends on the maintenance of peace; that it is only in the climate of peace that freedom can thrive. It might as well be said that a man can remain honest only so long as his family provides him with a comfortable income, or that a man cannot preserve his judgment and sagacity unless he is constantly kept out of danger by some benevolent higher power. If the theory were true, democracy would never have existed at all. Moreover, if liberty were a matter of easy-going comfort, a hotbed flower of undisturbed prosperity, it would not deserve to be cherished. Fascism might then even seem superior in so far as at least it trains its thralls to a more serious outlook on life than that of a spoiled child. Yet it is not so. On the contrary, we may well assume that liberty, awakened to full consciousness and having found its way back to its true sources in order to master a new emergency, will have a wider and firmer grasp on reality than tyranny can ever have; that free men can be more terrible enemies than slaves, however drilled and drugged. By rediscovering the truth that liberty is not by rights a "frail" and "fragile" thing but a fruit of indomitable strength of soul, we shall perhaps some day frame a world of liberty not only safer but truer and more genuinely beautiful than was the fool's paradise with which we have often confused democracy.

To conclude, freedom is a hard-earned possession of free men, not a boon granted by happy circumstances to pampered dolls who conceive of themselves as the creatures of circumstances. Fatalist metaphysics are attendant upon, and instrumental in, the depraving of democracies; they have nothing to do with the vital substance of democracy. Nor will freedom perish under a dispensation against which we are powerless. If it ever perishes, it will perish through our own shortsightedness and languid nihilism; because we did not love it adequately; because we shunned effort and honest thought; because we persevered in either denying or embellishing the danger; because we preferred the diabolical power of foreign slave-drivers to the power of freedom-loving leaders of free men—to our own power; in a word, because we preferred slavery to freedom.

Report on Chungking

BY A CHINESE CORRESPONDENT

Kunming, China, May 1

RECENTLY I visited Chungking for the first time in nine months to attend a session of the People's Political Council. The scars of last summer's bombings are still there. Indeed, many streets still resemble the streets of Pompeii, but in general a new if somewhat temporary Chungking has been built on the ruins. Many streets, much widened, are now lined with new shop buildings. They are generally of one story, easy to build, pleasing to the sight, but not expected to withstand any severe shock. Their owners did well enough last winter to risk destruction during the coming summer, when raids will again be in order unless we have a stronger air force by then. More important than the flimsy restoration of Chungking proper is the construction of a truly greater Chungking that will be proof against attack from the air. On a narrow strip of land extending for almost thirty kilometers along the Kialing River, a tributary of the Yangtze, new houses, new factories, new offices, and new bomb shelters have been dug out of the cliff. The enemy may destroy Chungking proper again this summer, but it will never be able to destroy greater Chungking.

In the People's Political Council attention centered on the Communist problem and the economic situation, particularly the shortage of food. For some time the Communist troops, both the Eighth Route Army in the northwest and the new Fourth Army along the lower Yangtze, had been expanding at the cost of the armies having no sympathy with or opposed to their ideas. The High Command tolerated them for a long time, but early this year it felt compelled to take disciplinary measures and ordered the Fourth Army to disband. Its action aroused much indignation among the Chinese Communists and caused a flurry abroad. When the People's Political Council was about to convene, the Communist Party announced that its members would not attend unless its twelve published demands were granted by the government. One of these called for the punishment of the Minister of War who ordered the disbanding of the Fourth Army and of other high-rank commanders who carried out the order. All the demands were so excessive that the government could not consider them. Nevertheless, both the government and the neutral groups in the council were very anxious for the participation of the Communists, and negotiations went on continuously behind the scenes. Marshal Chiang, supported by the neutral groups, promised that the Communists would be allowed to air their grievances in the council and to make any proposal in regard to political matters; he was ada-

mant, however, about maintaining the unity of military command. In the end the Communists refused to attend, and in order to lay the blame on the government, put forth another set of demands no less irksome than the first.

Both in the council and informally Marshal Chiang gave assurances that he would not consider military measures against the Communists. The matter of chief importance to him is the unity of command. Confidentially he even expressed displeasure that the police had lately been repressing certain Communist activities. But he had no intention of lying low if the Communists took the offensive, military or otherwise. My summary of the situation would be that friction will continue, but that neither the government nor the Communists will go so far as to bring on open conflict.

Recently some eighty students of leftist tendencies left our university, but by careful probing we found that the real Communists were still with us. Only the satellites had gone. They left because they were told by the Communists that drastic action by the government was impending. The Communists stayed and are still active, well aware that no persecution is in prospect. The foreign propaganda of the Communists is as clever as their maneuvers in our schools. They have a much better press abroad than the government because they publish their grievances, while Chiang Kai-shek hushes up all reports of dissension for fear the cause of China may be harmed.

The economic problem is in many ways more complicated, more difficult of solution, and more productive of controversy. Southwestern China is self-sufficient in grains only when there is a bumper crop. The insufficiency of cotton and other textiles is obvious. This could, however, be made up if transport facilities were increased or even if better use were made of existing facilities. The easiest way to overcome the shortage of grain in years of subnormal crops would be, I believe, the recapture of the Yangtze port of Ichang. But Ichang cannot be recaptured until we have a larger air force. My own opinion on this question was more or less confirmed by the military information I was able to obtain at Chungking.

The visit of Matsuoka to Europe naturally agitated us not a little. Various speculations are current; many of us being inclined to think that it will be of little consequence. The position of the Konoye Cabinet and especially of Matsuoka had been weak for some time, and Matsuoka's grand tour was designed to steady them. The non-aggression pact with Moscow will affect the United States more than it will us, according to the view of most persons here. It will undoubtedly hasten a war in the Pacific between Japan and the United States, but it may not cause Stalin to cease giving aid and comfort to China.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Salients on the Price Front

IT IS reported that the President will shortly recommend to Congress legislation giving the Administration more effective means of controlling prices than it now possesses. I hope that this report is confirmed, and that Congress will act promptly on the request. For at present Leon Henderson as administrator of the Office of Prices and Civilian Supply (OPACS) has at his command only indirect sanctions, and even the use of these is now being attacked by certain Senators. They have proved sufficient to hold a number of key sectors of the price front, at least for the time being, but against other parts of the line new salients are constantly being pushed out, and these together threaten to exercise a cumulative effect on the cost of living.

In the last few days Mr. Henderson has turned his guns in a new direction by imposing a ceiling on the price of combed cotton yarn—used in large quantities for army clothing. The limit he permits is 40 cents for 30's single-ply yarn with a possible adjustment not exceeding 2 cents to cover recent advances in raw-material costs. Quotations for this grade have been reported as high as 52 cents, although it is said that this is merely a level set by sold-out mills seeking to warn off buyers. The recent effective price has been nearer 47 cents, which itself represents a very considerable premium over what Mr. Henderson considers reasonable.

He is not alone in this opinion. Lew Hahn, general manager of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, commented: "Retailers, like all other business groups, are opposed to governmental price-fixing, but we are obliged to recognize that the cotton-goods industry has had several significant warnings and, so far as results are concerned, seems not to have taken the situation seriously." Mr. Hahn further remarked that buyers of cotton goods had been subjected to heavy pressure by being told that the industry was in a sold-out condition with shortages pending. "We now learn," he went on, "that far from that being the actual situation, the flexibility of cotton-goods production facilities is so great that its full capacity has never before been guessed at."

Cotton manufacturers have frequently protested against steps to raise the price of raw cotton on the ground that the inevitable result must be discouragement of consumption and the stimulation of competing fibers. This is sound economics, but it applies equally to price-boosting of the finished product. Nor can recent advances in yarn and cloth quotations be justified by reference to the current upward movement of raw cotton. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "cotton costs, though mounting, are not keeping up with cloth price gains. Result: cloth-mill profit margins are expanding. Gross margin on three print cloths last week was 24.65 cents a pound, a week earlier, 23.68—highest since 24.18 recorded in November, 1936."

There are numerous other examples of commodities being pushed up unduly on exaggerated talk of shortages. Take black pepper for example. The outbreak of hostilities in the

Pacific or even a further accentuation of the shipping shortage might cut off or seriously curtail imports of this humble but invaluable condiment. On the basis of this possibility heavy speculation has been going on in pepper, resulting in an advance in price of over 60 per cent since the beginning of the year. Now, following a request by Mr. Henderson to the New York Produce Exchange to raise margin requirements on pepper trading, it has been revealed that there is a two-and-a-half-year pepper supply on hand, most of which is controlled by a speculative pool started some years ago. Publication of this news brought on a wave of selling, and some of the pepper bulls may suffer losses not to be sneezed at.

It must be recognized, however, that speculation is not the only factor pushing up quotations of imported commodities. Shortage of shipping combined with increased demands for cargo space has produced a field day for the shipping companies. It is true that higher wages and insurance rates have raised costs considerably. But freight rates have soared far beyond any rise necessitated by increased costs, especially since under present circumstances ships are most of the time loaded to capacity. The result is profits such as have just been reported by American Export Lines for the first three months of this year, showing a rise of more than 100 per cent over a very profitable first quarter last year. Considering the enormous sums which have been paid out of the Treasury to subsidize American shipping, it is hard to see why steps have not been taken to hold down freight rates during the present emergency period.

Shortage of transport facilities is also being made responsible for recent advances in gasoline and fuel-oil prices. At the request of the government a large number of tankers normally employed in carrying oil from Gulf ports to the East Atlantic coast have been released to assist the British. Consequently it is necessary to turn to the railroads and the pipe lines to carry increased loads. Both these transport methods are more costly than sea hauls, and no doubt some increase in prices is justified. It should be noted, however, that prices started to move up some weeks before the government asked for the tankers. The reason would appear to be a much-improved demand for oil products due to the rise in purchasing power produced by the defense program. It is also worth noting that, despite wage and tax increases and the loss of much foreign business, oil profits are on the upgrade.

The latest upward movement in oil prices is an advance of 9 to 10 cents a barrel on crude in Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, and a number of other fields. It is reported that this rise has been forced by a growing demand on Midwestern refineries for finished products at a time when production in the Illinois and Michigan fields has gone into a decline. Oklahoma and Kansas are producing at capacity, but output could be expanded in Louisiana, New Mexico, and Texas. In Texas, which is responsible for more than a third of the daily total petroleum production of the country, the rate of output is controlled by the state railroad commission, which is apt to be jealous of any federal interference. It will be seen, therefore, that in attacking the question of oil prices, as he seems about to do, Mr. Henderson is stepping into a delicate and involved situation. He may, however, find a useful weapon in the desire of some of the oil companies to receive federal aid in financing new pipe lines.

In the Wind

GENERAL ALLISON OWEN, a landscape architect known for his work in clearing the "white slums" of New Orleans, speaking at a luncheon there some time ago, advocated all-out aid to Britain. "Perhaps we in New Orleans," he said, "are so busy with our own affairs that we do not have a true estimate of the situation across the Atlantic. After the Carnival season is over, I think we should seriously study the situation."

THE REVEREND EDWARD LODGE CURRAN, Coughlinite leader in Brooklyn, is reported to be trying to oust John T. Flynn from the leadership of the New York chapter of the America First Committee. The case against Flynn is based on his liberalism in domestic affairs and his close association with Norman Thomas.

EX-SENATOR EDWARD R. BURKE of Nebraska is now leading a national anti-strike campaign in cooperation with the Committee for Constitutional Government. The aim is to write into the laws "the right to work" under all circumstances.

ALTHOUGH administration forces in the American Newspaper Guild were defeated in many large cities, administration candidates in New York made a clean sweep in the recent election. The victory was roughly seven to five among the 2,500 who voted. The Committee for Guild Democracy, the opposition bloc, claims that its slate was defeated by 2,000 Guild members who did not vote. Last year the Youngstown anti-totalitarian resolution, which the administration opposed, was carried by two to one in the New York referendum. On that basis the Committee for Guild Democracy figures that most of those who failed to cast ballots are in fact against the present administration.

JOE McWILLIAMS, speaking at a meeting of his American Destiny Party in Queens on May 14, called President Roosevelt "Frankie, the King of Judea, the half-wit in the White House." He had this to say of Stalin: "I do not ask you to admire the man, but you cannot deny that he puts his country first and has accomplished tremendous things for the Russian people, and no doubt will rid the country of the control of the Jews, who are playing an increasingly less important role in the government. Stalin began with Trotsky, and eventually not a Jew will be left in Russia."

ACCORDING to *Inside Germany Reports*, the most common ailment suffered by members of the Luftwaffe is insanity. Overwork, inadequate training, and equilibrium disturbances send many Germany pilots into insane asylums. A letter from Vienna reports that Austrian homes for the aged and sanatoriums for the mentally ill are being emptied in order to make room for the Nazi airmen.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

The Army Camp Mystery

IT IS about time somebody wrote a mystery story about an army camp, and maybe the strange case of Private Felix Hall, Army Serial Number 14005607, Company E, 24th Infantry, Fort Benning, Georgia, provides the plot. Hall, a Negro volunteer from Montgomery, Alabama, disappeared on February 13, but on May 17 neither the army nor the FBI was ready to say whether he killed himself, was murdered, or was lynched on the military reservation.

On March 28 soldiers of the 20th Engineer Regiment engaged in a field problem came across a decomposed body hanging from a tree. On April 2, according to the American Negro press, the boy's father heard of his son's death through a neighbor's son and went immediately to Fort Benning. There Austin J. Doyle, special agent of the FBI, "showed the father pictures of the body roped and wired hanging from a tree."

On April 18 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged in letters to President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Stimson that Hall was lynched.

On May 17 Major General Robert C. Richardson, Jr., director of the army's new Bureau of Public Relations, sent me the following official statement: "It has not yet been determined whether this was murder or suicide. This is being investigated by Provost Marshal's Death Board and the FBI. So far as is known, the military police had nothing to do with the cause of this death."

This was my first information that anyone had ever thought that the military police might have had anything to do with the death of this Negro. And the suggestion of that possibility in terms of denial from the army itself seems to me to make some speedy solution of the case more than ever essential. If ever a case did, this murder mystery affects the morale of the American people, whose sons are in similar camps.

In public relations, as General Richardson's letter indicates, the army is making progress in providing news to the press. A dead soldier is no longer regarded as a military secret. The army has now a real news organization staffed by able newspapermen, and men are on duty all the time to answer questions—if they have the answers. When the report of the board of investigation in this case has been approved by the War Department, General Richardson says, there will be no objection to publishing

its findings. But this publicity, after long, secret procedure in the investigation of the case of a man already presumably more than three months dead, is certainly not streamlined publicity about swift military justice.

If this death, which has been called a lynching, had not taken place on the military reservation, and the dead Negro had not been a soldier but merely a Georgian, it is difficult to believe that such deliberation as marks the army's investigation would be accepted with patience or awaited with confidence. Outside army posts no procedure is so much distrusted—and properly distrusted—as delay in the investigation of reported lynchings. There is a theory well understood in courtroom towns that the indignant public will forget almost anything if you give it time.

There is every reason to believe, I think, that the army wants to do a better job in its press relations. General Richardson took his post in an effort to put an end to plain stupidity in dealing with news. He has secured the assistance of experienced newspapermen. But no press section can give out the news until it gets it, and if army procedures of justice are as slow as this case indicates, what the press section will have to give out will not be news but history. Good sense in military press relations depends as much upon the officers who have the news as upon the major general who gives it out.

If there ever was any news which should not be surrounded with military secrecy this is it. Has there been a lynching of a Negro soldier in one of the camps to which thousands of young Americans are being sent? Did anybody ever suspect that the military police did it and then left the body hidden for a month? Why, even considering the condition of the body, does it take the army more than two months to decide what the public would expect a coroner's jury in a civilian case to decide in two days or two weeks?

This may not be a thrilling murder mystery, but it is a disturbing military mystery. What good is a press section which gives out news quickly if the whole system behind it still works in the philosophy of we'll tell 'em when we are ready and not a damn minute sooner? If the civil authorities in a Georgia county acted like that, they would provide argument No. 999 for the federal anti-lynching bill. This dead Negro is argument No. 1 for a belief that adequate army press relations cannot be limited to a press room, even one under the command of a major general full of the best intentions.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE ADVERTISEMENTS of Kenneth Roberts's newest best-seller, "Oliver Wiswell," are taking on a political tinge. "Should the American Revolution Be Censored?" runs the provocative headline. And then we are told to read this book for the truth about the Revolution, which most Americans "still do not know." The truth, according to Roberts, is that the patriots of 1776 were low-class rabble or weak-minded innocents misled by such blackguards as Sam Adams, whose only motive in desiring independence was to escape paying the British a fine of \$100,000 for smuggling; and that the War of Independence was won only because General Howe was a philanderer and the King lost interest. It is all revealed in a volume of 863 interminable pages, which the publishers blithely describe as a "literary masterpiece," though the writing, the characterization, and the plot are all made of paper and print. One has the sense throughout of watching a bad movie, except that it is harder on the eyes.

Augustus Loring Richards, in a little pamphlet which has come to my desk, counters the publishers' claim of "truthful revelation" with an accusation of "reckless inaccuracy" on the part of Mr. Roberts. He begins by flaying, with convincing evidence, Roberts's intimation that John Jay would have regarded this book as true history. He cites a minor error in Roberts's reference to Millis, Massachusetts, pointing out that there was no town of that name until 100 years after the Revolution. "Roberts's 'original record' of Wiswell's route was probably a Socony road map."

Or consider this illustration: The passage through "Millis," above mentioned, was in the course of a journey made by Wiswell . . . and Buell from New York to Milton, Massachusetts, in the late summer of 1776. . . . According to the narrative the region they traversed was populated with a living chain of terror-stricken victims of pillage and pitiless persecution.

Now if Mr. Roberts had been interested in rendering a truthful account . . . he could have told a very different story. He could have pictured his Tory heroes as spending a comfortable night in a certain well-known inn near Worcester. The innkeeper was a Tory and . . . he made it a practice to confine his hospitality to Tories. . . .

Mr. Richards gives as his source the published memoirs of the secretary of Baron Steuben, who was warned against this inn when he was traveling from Boston to Valley Forge in January, 1777. Steuben and his party, caught in a snowstorm, were refused accommodations but enforced their rights as travelers. This might have provided Mr. Roberts with another "rebel outrage," but to have introduced the Tory inn into his tale would have conflicted with his determination to present the Revolution from the Tory point of view.

Mr. Richards's main attack is reserved for the Roberts thesis that Tories were a persecuted minority—of wealth and brains and property—and were forced into exile after the Revolution. Revolution and civil war are not pretty. The War of Independence was both a revolution and a civil war; and

there were unquestionably excesses on both sides, but according to Mr. Richards the two camps were about equally divided, and "a very large part of our present population is undoubtedly of Tory descent." Mr. Richards also notes that thousands of Hessian soldiers remained in this country.

One of the most famous and effective of Tory leaders . . . was the Reverend Samuel Seabury. . . . After the war began he was confined for a few weeks in a Connecticut jail. Later he took refuge in New York City and became a chaplain of a Tory regiment. In 1783 he was consecrated in Scotland as Bishop of Connecticut, and in 1785 . . . took up his residence in New Haven as rector of St. James's Church.

Samuel Seabury of New York is his descendant and namesake.

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Voice of France

FRANCE MY COUNTRY, THROUGH THE DISASTER.

By Jacques Maritain. Longmans, Green and Company.
\$1.25.

"I BELONG to a people in whom temporal hope is so deep-rooted that it is of their substance." These words, which explain the complex beauty of this little book, are not easy words to understand. Their author is a Christian—one who believes that the essential life of man is of the spirit and transcendental. Their author is also a Frenchman—one, therefore, who will not relinquish hope that his value as an immortal soul is incarnately involved in the living history of France. Because this French Christian is also a poet, indeed primarily a poet, his spiritual vision and his temporal hope are sharply modulated to the experience of his country. This must suffice, in the brief space I dispose of, to suggest the quality of the book. It is an organic record of France in that its shrewd discussion of events and their causes reveals significances vastly beyond them.

To the reader who knows the intricate prosody of Maritain's work, the little volume is a cluster of filaments leading back and forth among his religious and social doctrines. But any careful reader will get a good deal from the eminently sane assembly of notations, even though not one of them alone may strike him as particularly new. The fall of France is analyzed: the political confusion and decadence, the divorce between the people of France and their rulers, the tragic fallacy of the Maginot generals who had prepared for the *last* war, the insufficiency of industrial production. The psychology of the dazing defeat is explained; and of the people under the Nazi asphyxiation. The mind here at work has quite as much information as the journalists and modish novelists, but moves within dimensions which the shallow gentlemen ignore. M. Maritain traces Machiavellianism to its final flowering in the false religion of political separatism which Liberal, Communist, Socialist, Nazi, and Vichy Catholic all share. He sees in the fall of France the fall of the bourgeois order. But he rejects the primacy of any specific

cause for the disaster; his sense of life is too organic for that. Evil and error, he explains, are always present in any human situation; so that it is as easy as it is false after the fact to moralize a disaster. In the chapter on the French people in defeat his hope is well tempered by the analysis of dangers (we fear them also!) that make his beloved France vulnerable as it has never been in its thousand glorious years. The poet is a realist-psychologist, which explains why his patterns have taken the form of religion.

If the book has a fault, it is perhaps that it is too cursory and allusive in its variety of awarenesses. It assumes in the reader a knowledge both of France and of the author, justifiable in a Frenchman accustomed to a public with a cultural memory—a public, that is, non-existent in the United States. Of course, I cannot here adequately review this book. I content myself with raising a single question. M. Maritain says: "The French people were politically, not morally, demoralized"; they had not lost, he declares, "their natural virtues," and indeed, during the past decade, were enjoying a great intellectual and spiritual rebirth. He is at pains, therefore, to divorce the corruption of all the public leaders and of all the ideologies—Communist, Socialist, liberal-bourgeois, reactionary Catholic—from the health of the folk. If this were the mere emotional expression of a man of France before the agony of his people, one might be respectfully and humbly silent. But Jacques Maritain is too great a soldier of the human spirit to ask for such indulgence. Deep in his insistence on the moral and spiritual health of his Catholic people is the implicit defense of their religion. And deep in this process of separating essence from act, natural and spiritual virtue from immediate history, I feel and fear the presence of a *cultural pattern* which became the disease of France and which M. Maritain shares with his great and greatly beloved nation.

In 1936, when the fascist world revolution got in its stride with the assault on Spain, a Jew, Léon Blum, was Premier of France. M. Blum failed to do his duty, which was to give all-out aid to Spain's republic. He knew what he should do, and why. He flinched because he was afraid, and this also he knew. London's City on the west, Hitler on the east, his own fascist-commanded army and industrials at home, threatened war if he helped Spain's people. "How can a Jew bring war to France?" wailed the Prime Minister on the shoulders of his friends. M. Maritain would certainly agree that if Léon Blum had been a different kind of Jew, a true and serious follower of the Prophets, he would have risked civil war rather than betray justice and mankind. He would have relied on the peoples of France and Britain to sustain him; he would have said to his God and to his nation, "I can do no other." But, of course, had M. Blum been that kind of Jew, he would never have headed the French Socialist Party, he would never have been chosen Premier. In brief, the weakness of this ruler was not unrelated to the spiritual state of his electors. The French are the most intelligent, the most widely cultured people upon earth. They knew that the leaders of their army and navy were black fascists, haters of the republic. They knew, moreover, that a similar set of professional "defenders," having sworn allegiance to Spain's republic, were murdering Spain before their eyes. All these generals and officers were devout Catholics, shared the religion of their peo-

ples. In 1938 I crossed back from Barcelona into France. I arrived at Perpignan on a Sunday noon: the good people of France filled the cafes, fat and merry within the shadow of Spain's death. They knew all about it. "Am I my brother's keeper?" For weeks I had been dreaming of the white bread, the sweet butter, the cool beer, that awaited me in France. I sat among the good fat folk and ordered my dream—and left the cafe with the food untouched. At that moment, in nausea and premonition, I knew that Europe would not profit by Spain's martyrdom, because the people of France were not worthy to be spared.

The general rot within the disaster of France goes deeper than M. Maritain allows. Deeper than the stupidity and venality of politicians was the huge cynicism which already branded Paris in 1935 as a semi-fascist city. Not for *inorganic* reasons did the soldiers and citizens of free and aware France intrust their fatherland's defense to reactionary Catholic generals. Not because of mere confusion did the burghers of Perpignan drink their lush wine within the shadow of Spain's dying. If a folk so clear and strong loses its reason and its hands, is it not for the poet-philosopher to seek the cause of the paralysis *precisely* where M. Maritain declines to find it? In the religion of the people.

Here are questions too deep to be even stated in a brief review—urgent questions for us who lack so many of the virtues, and none of the weaknesses, of France. A token of the significance of M. Maritain's book is that he brings us to these questions, forces us to face them.

WALDO FRANK

Mr. Percy's Culture

LANTERNS ON THE LEVEE. By William Alexander Percy. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

IS IT possible that the South is the nation's economic problem No. 1 because it is first of all the nation's intellectual problem No. 1? Mr. Percy's interesting and provocative autobiography makes clear that it is quite possible. Here is the life story of a man who is not so much a typical Southerner as a superior Southerner. William Alexander Percy can trace his ancestry through some of the finest families of the old mint-julep South. He went to Sewanee and the Harvard Law School. He traveled abroad in the aristocratic tradition of the Grand Tour. Upon visiting Athens he was so eager to see the Acropolis that he rose at six o'clock and rushed out without his breakfast. Moreover, throughout a busy life this man has cultivated the arts of thought and of living. Mr. Percy is aware of at least some of the great social strains that underlie the fabric of Southern life, and he would like to do something about them. From such a man we have every right to expect the best of Southern thought.

So it is all the more astonishing, and all the more disappointing, to discover that the theories and opinions of this fine flower of Southern life are at bottom very similar to those held by the rednecks and the peckerwoods and the vulgarians. Take, for example, Mr. Percy on the Negro question: "I would say to the Negro: before demanding to be a white man socially and politically, learn to be a white man morally and intellectually."

This admonition will be popular in reactionary circles of

the South. It possesses that air of benevolent paternalism so dear to the Southern heart. It does not say, Black Brother, the door is closed forever, there is no hope for you. Rather it says, Struggle on, Black Brother, be obedient, tip your hat to your betters, and in a thousand years or so maybe you will be as good and as smart as I am now, and then possibly you can have the vote and a berth in the Pullman car.

But everyone except the reactionaries will recognize Mr. Percy's paternalistic admonition to be pretty hollow nonsense. It is also dangerous, for it assumes that moral and intellectual development must or can come before social and political development. This assumption, I submit, is contrary to all experience. The Negro, like all other races, will make all four of these developments more or less at the same time. In the days of slavery Mr. Percy would no doubt have insisted that the Negro must attain moral and intellectual parity with the white man before he should have his freedom. But freedom, a political and a social gain, was the key to the whole world, without which there was nothing. Mr. Percy would probably argue that the Negro then lost a part of his freedom because he did not make the moral or intellectual advances necessary to sustain it. But that would be turning history upside down, for the Negro was robbed of his political freedom in large part before he had any chance whatever to show what he could do with it. Nevertheless, something of freedom did remain, and without it the progress since made by the Negro would have been impossible. Surely political freedom must come first of all; for the only way to prove that one deserves freedom is to be free. Just as emancipation was the key in the 1860's, so now it seems clear that wide enfranchisement is the key to further progress. By insisting upon an impossible perfectionism, Mr. Percy would lock the door and withhold the key.

Mr. Percy's position on share-cropping is equally disappointing. He says: "Share-cropping is one of the best systems ever devised to give security and a chance for profit to the simple and unskilled." Then he continues: "It has but one drawback—it must be administered by human beings to whom it offers an *unusual* [my emphasis] opportunity to rob without detection or punishment." Mr. Percy thus condemns the system in his own words, apparently without realizing that he is condemning it. He also seems unaware of this dilemma: if the croppers become skilled and informed they will doubtless overturn the system—and thus do away with the basis of Mr. Percy's culture; while if they remain simple and unskilled, somebody will always be only too happy to cheat them. The main indictment against the share-cropping system, however, is not moral but economic; the system is wasteful of labor, land, capital, and management. It would still be a vicious system, even if all the landlords were as sweet as Pollyanna and as kind-hearted as Santa Claus.

If a man so alert as William Alexander Percy can do no better than this, what are we to expect from the vulgarians? Our Southern reactionaries will be delighted to learn that, aside from a few dislocations which alarm Mr. Percy, so little is really wrong with our social system, and especially to have the assurance from so cultured a gentleman and in such skilful prose. But the rest of us must say in sorrow, Somehow we must do better than this or we shall surely perish.

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

Manual of the War

BATTLE FOR THE WORLD. By Max Werner. Translated by Heinz and Ruth Norden. Modern Age Books. \$3.

THE rise of Hitler made considerations of military strategy an integral part of every man's political reasoning. Every school of political thought evolved its strategic view and attempted to support its often merely wishful "military science" with arguments drawn from technical literature. At the present moment this phenomenon is even more striking. There is, for example, the honorable version of the strict isolationist view that provided the United States does not aid Britain all will be well. A book and an early article of Hanson Baldwin's are often doubtfully drawn on in its support. Then there is the half-isolationist school which contends that if this country aids Britain with one hand, good will result, but if two hands are used, the United States will be destroyed. The technical literature of this school appears to be confined to the releases of the Gallup poll. The right-wing interventionists have their justification in classical theories of naval power. The left-wing supporters of Britain have hitherto not been well served by military scholars. It is good, therefore, that Mr. Werner has written this excellent book, which might be described as a *Nation* reader's manual of the war.

Mr. Werner is clear and unequivocal. He has always been an anti-fascist opponent of appeasement. His earlier book was a carefully documented plea for collective security. "Battle for the World" sustains the same line of argument, in the form that it logically takes at this stage of the crisis. He is a supporter of aid to Britain, because "a British defeat . . . makes possible and even probable a war against America by four continents under the leadership of the fascist-imperialist triangle." He approves of Administration policies but would have them clarified and strengthened, with the object of defeating the Axis.

It was recently suggested to me, during the course of a conversation in which I was commending the book, that Mr. Werner is "pro-Soviet." What I note, however, is merely that he does not permit his expressed dislike of Stalin to falsify his military reasoning. He asserts, and supports his case with numerous citations from leading non-Soviet authorities, that the Soviet army is an extremely powerful one, and a well-trained one, informed with wholly modern theories of war. When he reviews the consequences of the Soviet-German pact he points out the striking paradox that the very fulfilment of the pact tends to annul it. He provides an illuminating discussion of the maneuvering of the two principal Continental powers in their efforts to outflank each other in the Scandinavian North and the Near East. Apropos of the Soviets, only one glaring omission strikes the reviewer. In his otherwise excellent analysis of the Finnish war Mr. Werner fails to mention the enormous importance to their offensive of the Soviets' total mastery of the air. Nor does he ask what would have been the result had the Finnish army had the mobile artillery and reserves which would have been at the service of a German front of comparable extension. The Mannerheim Line was destroyed by heavy and competently directed artillery fire. But had a first-class air force been active, and had great masses of mobile artillery, plus mechanical equipment, been engaged, the Soviet artillery would

have found the duel less a matter of target practice than the low Soviet casualty list indicated that it was. Since the only point of discussing Soviet military strength is to compare it with the German forces, the omission is serious. Nevertheless, I believe that Mr. Werner's contention that the Red Army is as powerful as the German—at least for a war of no great duration—is sound.

The author possesses and expounds a global view of the war that includes an estimate of the political forces at work in the world identical with that expressed by the reviewer in *The Nation*. The last chapter of the book is entitled *The Decision Facing America*. It is so good that I wish he had doubled or trebled its length. I wish, too, that he had been more explicit concerning British and American relations with the Soviets. But, again, the omission does not seriously flaw a thoroughly creditable and useful piece of work.

RALPH BATES

In Solitary

SATAN'S SERGEANTS. By Josephine Herbst. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

ALTHOUGH the heroes and heroines of modern American novels are almost inevitably infected with loneliness and frustration, the minor characters are usually endowed by their creators with sufficient freedom to find some small measure of content and to form a salutary number of satisfactory human relationships. In Miss Herbst's novel all the characters lead thwarted, solitary, and unfulfilled lives. Two leading-strings determine their behavior: the separateness of human beings—"No wonder men accepted war that brought them together if only for disaster"—and the struggle to overcome and outwit the feeling of death. There is also a certain amount of nostalgia for the days when "those religionists" had "something inside of them, hard and good, and believing in man himself." The characters are natives of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, or rich newcomers from the city. They are

homeless, feverishly alone, and, I suppose it follows, unhappily married. Their minds creep away from their own capsize lives to the island of their defeated past, where they worry and feed. Two of them try to write.

The whole book is conditioned by this view of life, from which both its virtues and its deficiencies derive. It is of course not a question of the validity of the author's particular exegesis, but of what it does to the book. The people are real; the perceptions are acute; the observation, the moods, are excellent. These qualities, however, are necessarily blighted and stultified by the passive feelings imputed to the characters, feelings which are presented neither profoundly nor passionately enough to become active. The characters are continually remembering or being reminded of their prehistory, and we learn all the facts about them by means of numerous flashbacks and chapter sketches. The ever-churning thoughts and reflections are strangely alike, all at the same far remove, dioramic. And the planned climax, the calculated hypodermic—the big fire which is to consume the burden of wasted expenditure and reanimate the death-ridden lives—does not burn brightly enough. "We are all guilty," says Mrs. Williard; that's all.

For the truth it has, the sympathy, the deep feeling, for the daily pendulum of American family life, the book is good; but its goodness as a novel is only as latent and unrealized as the goodness of its characters. We do have Will Armstrong. Will lives a foundering life, a stranger to his wife and son as they are to him, and the realization of his strangeness finally kills him. Will is magnificent. In his relationship with his son Johnny and his wife, Belle, the power of his own helplessness generates the best writing of the book. Then the book stirs with a little of that free energy a novel must have.

H. P. LAZARUS

Novelists Between Wars

AMERICAN FICTION: 1920-1940. By Joseph Warren Beach. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

IN THIS study Joseph Warren Beach, who has written extensively on the problems and tendencies of modern fiction, examines eight American novelists of the inter-bellum period: Dos Passos, Hemingway, Faulkner, Wolfe, Caldwell, Farrell, Marquand, and Steinbeck. With the exception of Marquand, whom a sturdier sense of critical justice might have excluded in favor of a more expressive literary type, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald or Glenway Wescott, the novelists he considers are fully representative of the evolution of our narrative prose in the past twenty years. They certainly provide us with no end of examples both of a positive and negative nature. Mr. Beach, however, has chosen to inform his appraisals almost entirely with a laudatory content.

Although here and there, as in the case of Faulkner's style, he is not averse to noticing faults and sticking by what he has noticed, on the whole he manages to minimize or explain away altogether whatever weaknesses come to his attention. Thus he argues that the lack of form in Thomas Wolfe is more apparent than real, that actually his novels are ordered according to a symphonic pattern which makes them structurally comparable to the work of Proust. Moreover, the book

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is sustained throughout by a peculiar tone of buoyancy and elation that one has learned to suspect because it is of the kind that reflects more credit on a person's qualities as a reader—and these qualities are patience, loving-kindness, and gratitude for entertainment received—than on his values as a critic. It is plain that Mr. Beach takes most of the novelists he discusses on their own terms; he is concerned, as he admits when speaking of Caldwell, in putting them "in the best possible light with the intelligent reading public." Hence it is without surprise that we come upon the pretty tall claim advanced in his concluding chapter that "the social seriousness of American fiction today . . . is everywhere supported, in our most powerful writers, by an artistic seriousness and maturity such as we have never known before."

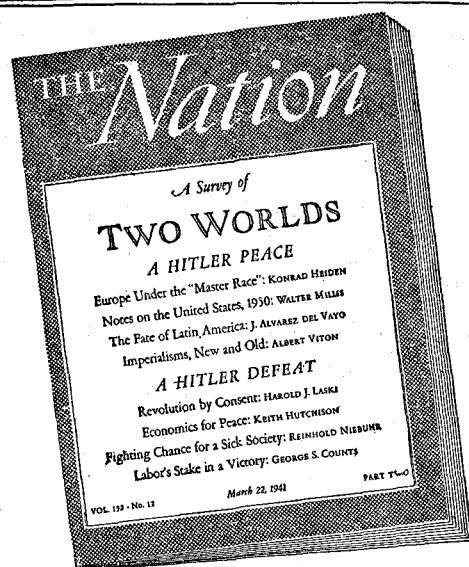
Consider to what lengths Mr. Beach has to go in order to maintain his claim. Having committed himself to the opinion that Steinbeck is a genius who typifies the "ripening of American literary culture," he must needs make out that each of Steinbeck's novels is an important work of art. Even "Tortilla Flat," that inconsequential romance of goody-goody vagabonds, he describes as "colored with the delicious humor of Don Quixote" and as possessing the "tender pathos of distance that attaches to St. Francis and Robin Hood and Shakespeare's Forest of Arden." And it is not Steinbeck alone who touches off a rhapsodic strain in this critic. Caldwell, too, he hails as a master who has his affinities with "Chaucer and Dickens, Balzac and Gorki." What can one say in face of such honorific statements? Obviously Mr. Beach,

who once wrote an excellent book on Henry James, has lost the capacity to draw essential distinctions.

And the point is not that Mr. Beach approaches writing in a naive manner, or that he lacks the equipment to place the art object within the right perspective. The essays in this volume on Faulkner and Farrell, in which he does not follow the beaten track of current popular opinion, show him in a different light. The trouble is, rather, that all too often he fails to make any real use of the considerable equipment he has at his disposal. After all, it takes only a modicum of literary sensitiveness to realize that Steinbeck is at present the most overrated novelist in America, and that Caldwell, despite his great gifts as a story-teller and as a symbolist of rural abandon, is fatally limited to plowing up over and over again the same small patch of ground. Nor does Thomas Wolfe, who is so wholly symptomatic of the traditional dilemma of the American artist, present any inexplicable critical problems.

In view of all this, perhaps Mr. Beach's leaps into super-erogation might be explained by the fact that, like so many people today, he has been moved by the compulsion to inflate everything American. Now that European culture has proved itself so brittle, many are trying to ward off the disaster that threatens us too by insisting on the uniform perfection of our native products. There is no salvation, however, in talismanic thinking. In the end it cannot but lead to the further enfeeblement of the organism whose defense has become so urgent.

PHILIP RAHV



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IN BRIEF

WHISTLE STOP. By Maritta M. Wolff. Random House. \$2.50.

A sturdy, extremely capable first novel about a sprawling, ill-assorted family in a little Midwestern town, their lives a tangle of jealousies, squabbles, repressions, and, strangely enough, hair-trigger adventure.

HALF THAT GLORY. By Stanley Gray. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

A colorful costume-piece depicting the part of the American Revolution that was fought behind the scenes in Europe, with Franklin and Beaumarchais spinning threads in a web of international intrigue—all this and a love story, too.

CAPTAIN PAUL. By Commander Edward Ellsberg. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$2.75.

A rousing, if somewhat over long, celebration of the exploits and character of our first great sea captain, John Paul Jones, as mirrored in the eyes of a close friend and officer who sailed with him on the Bonhomme Richard.

PORTULACA. By Bernice Kelly Harris. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

Because her portrait of Southern small-town life is so uncompromisingly honest, it is hard to see why Mrs. Harris lets her heroine compromise at the end of this novel. For a brief moment Nancy escapes from the deadening middle-class atmosphere that surrounds her husband, his family, and their uninspiring neighbors. But the next moment she goes back to them, and the explanation that the author invents for her action is not altogether satisfactory. Mrs. Harris writes with a sprightly pen. Her publishers say that her book is "unstained"

by bitterness. A dash more of bitterness might have improved it.

THE OTHER WORLDS. Edited, with an Introduction, by Phil Stong. Wilfred Funk. \$2.50.

If you like to proceed from impossible premises to impossible conclusions by perfectly logical steps, this anthology is for you. That is not said by way of derogation. It is a perfectly legitimate literary game and has excellent classical antecedents. Excessively serious, sober, and sensible people are warned to stay away, but for those who enjoy Lewis Carroll at his most nonsensical and Poe at his most horrible, Mr. Stong has spread a delectable feast. His taste in the field of fantasy is unfailingly good. This book has some virtues rare among anthologies: namely, well-worn items are rejected because they are too well known and authors are judged by their merit rather than by their reputations.

LOVE AND DEATH. By Llewellyn Powys. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

This novel, written as "an imaginary autobiography," is a sort of "Death and Transfiguration" in which the narrator, dying of consumption, recalls the idyllic love affair of his youth and distils from his memories a rapture that annihilates the agony of oncoming death. Written actually during the last few years of Mr. Powys's life, it is a modern "Daphnis and Chloe," an erotic rhapsody written in exquisite prose, an aging man's lyric hymn to the poetry of earth that is never dead.

THE DEEP. By Kaj Klitgaard. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.75.

A novel about a Danish lad with a restless, impishly inquiring mind who grows up at sea during the years before the first World War, building a philosophy out of the ocean's many moods to fit the men whom he learns to know on

full-rigged sailing vessels, tramp freighters, and trim vessels of the W. I. S. A. Line. It is a leisurely, sometimes rambling, but always mature and sensitive story that should charm many readers with its humane tolerance and its all-permeating savor of salt, rum, and pitch.

CALL THE NEW WORLD. By John Jennings. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

Through ten years—and 450 pages—of love and adventure likable Peter Brooke battles in the armies of the New World, taking part in the defense of Washington against the British in the War of 1812, campaigning up and down South America with Bolívar, always fighting against the forces of European oppression. One suspects that the story, while lively enough in its own right, was intended mainly to furnish a romantic background for the scene in which President Monroe issues his well-known doctrine in a message to the Congress.

DRAMA

EVERYBODY concerned with "The Happy Days" (Henry Miller's Theater) seems to have done his best. That goes for Miss Zoë Akins, who adapted it from the French of Claude-André Puget, and also for a very pleasant company of juveniles, including Diana Barrymore, Joan Tetzl, and Peter Scott. It goes also for Raymond Sovey, who has designed an unusually substantial and unusually inviting set to represent the country-house living-room where the action takes place. But the best and most conscientious workmen need something to work with, and the play is one of the most insubstantial of the many insubstantial bubbles which recent French playwrights have devoted themselves to blowing.

It is about—in so far as it is about anything—a group of adolescents respectably discovering life and love during the three days when they are left alone on an island while their parents are away at the funeral of a relative. Except for a few unnecessary lush passages, it is written with a certain delicacy, and there are a few farcical moments that are genuinely funny; but there is far too much marking of time, and it hardly seems an evening's worth. If intended for a psychological study, it ought to say more; if it is not supposed to be more than an entertaining comedy, it ought to be funnier.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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ART

Wrong for Latin America

THAT "carefully selected collection" of three hundred-odd American oils and water colors lately on brief view at the Metropolitan Museum and "intended to familiarize our southern neighbors with present trends in American painting" unhappily has got under way. Three exhibitions have been carved from it. Of these, one is headed for Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and possibly Sao Paulo; another for Mexico City, Santiago de Chile, Lima, and Quito; the third for Bogotá, Caracas, and Havana. We say "unhappily" for the following reason: assembled under the auspices of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics and doubtless designed as a means of prompting the educated in the southern countries imaginatively to connect themselves with us, the collection and its offspring, unless the heavens prove clement, are likely to render our art and culture the laughing-stock of capitals such as Rio, Buenos Aires, and Mexico City.

The paintings do not form one of the brilliant, splashy shows that captivate the crowd. Neither do they constitute a demonstration of unusual abilities and aspiration, sincerity, imagination of the kind that wins the sensitive and intelligent to sympathy. Alleged to be a representation of the work of "some of our most gifted painters," the ensemble while it hung on the Metropolitan's walls reminded us of nothing quite so much as of the perennial jury-free shows of the Society of Independent Artists. What faced us, for all the famous names in the catalogue, was an indiscriminate heap, a scattering of wheat amid a mass of pictorial tares—which gave the impression that the level of achievement in contemporary American painting is unimportant, vulgar, dull. Works of art to be sure were not wholly wanting. There was a superb quartet of Marin washes. There were "Seated Nude" by Karfiol, one of the gentle lyrist's jewel-like canvases, Max Weber's warm "Music," Dickinson's soundly calculated "Industry," characteristically aggressive Hartleys, and good Demuths, Burchfields, McFees. However, the quality of the mass of the exhibits submerged these and other instances of the art of painting.

The biggest and thus most conspicuous canvas in the collection is the de-

testable "Draped Figure" by John Carroll. Designed in the manner of El Greco seen through Sargent, it is hopelessly cheap in spirit; evidently painted in cold cream and soot; giving the effect of the flesh of an overripe banana. Almost as conspicuous by reason of their number are the six oils and water colors by Reginald Marsh: they are most inferior examples of draftsmanship and color. Their lines, for example, possess no genuine vitality. What expresses itself through them is not the quality or inwardness of things but mere caricatures of essences. Conspicuous largely by reason of their squalid subject matter, the Marsh sextet, in fact, are illustrations. The assemblage, again, sports three sizable John Steuart Currys which vie with one another for the crown of red onions reserved for the perfectly commonplace. And the quantities of veneered academicisms masquerading as modernities!

Even some of the collection's examples of the painters who deserved a place in it are inferior. The silvery O'Keeffe, for instance, is one of this excellent artist's few pieces with a papery feel. The water-color section certainly would not have been crippled by the exclusion of Walkowitz's leaden pair of "Isadora Duncans," any more than the oil section would have suffered by the inclusion of a couple of his lovelier landscapes with figures. One of Demuth's rather static canvases might advantageously have been eliminated in favor of a representative group of this exquisite's lustrous washes. As for a Marin oil, there is no sign of one, nor an inch of anything by those distinguished creative painters Dove, Stella, Koppman, Bluemner, Varian, Friedman.

But it would be folly to expatiate on the character of the show. The pity is, the actual America possesses painters who if expertly presented might easily fascinate the sensitive and intelligent in Latin America: painters of extraordinary gifts, endeavor, vision, whose work not only has aimed at heights but has attained them. We still are a great nation; rich not only in promise but in performance, in social and intellectual elevation. And just as it is not the common but the highest level of their achievement which ultimately represents nations at the judgment bar of humanity, so it is this high level which continually represents them at that of intelligent and sensitive people. The advantage flowing from the achievement of interesting this stratum of persons is due of course to the circumstance that

what prevails in the long run is their opinion. Meanwhile, Latin America has not yet made up its mind regarding the value of the American contribution to culture and potential creativity in the aesthetic realms; and, as I have remarked, it would seem that a miracle might be necessary to prevent the show now en route from costing us some of the recognition we badly require.

It is unfortunate, too, that while the disserviceable collection was on the Metropolitan's walls the critics of the great New York dailies not only did not utter a word of protest against its quality but never even sought seriously to appraise it, thus depriving our "southern neighbors" of a means of judging of its representativeness. In Mexico they possess brilliant indigenous art, and in the east-coast capitals of the southern continent the educated public is familiar with modern French art and, incidentally, possesses imitators and illustrators who will see through the tricks of their northern confrères. And, informed by the organizing committee that the bulk of the collection represents the work of "some of our most gifted painters" and the "present trends in American painting," they will judge us by these "fruits."

PAUL ROSENFELD

RECORDS

THE characteristically mingled wit and stabbing poignancy and sheer loveliness of Mozart's String Quartet K. 458 ("Hunt") are marvelously realized, in Victor's new set (763, \$3.50), in the sound of the work created by the Budapest Quartet—a four-stranded texture that is as unique an achievement of as unique a combination of musical feeling and taste and technical virtuosity in this province as a Toscanini performance is in the other. With this set, made here a year ago, I played the Victor set of Beethoven's Quartet Op. 74 ("Harp") which the Budapest group made in England, and the set of Beethoven's Op. 18 No. 1 which it made here recently for Columbia—this for a comparison of recording jobs. The English recording—which reproduces the four strands with flawless beauty of sound throughout their range, with spaciousness and balance, with cleanness and roundness of definition—is the best; the American Victor offers the spaciousness, balance, and definition, the beauty of sound in the lower range, but a metallic sharpness in the higher range of the violins; the Columbia hasn't the

MEETING

THE GROUP FORUM

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Readers' Service Division

THE NATION

55 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

cleanness and roundness of definition.

The power and grandeur that have caused Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5 to acquire the name "Emperor" are in the music when Schnabel plays it with power and grandeur in the old Victor set, and are not there when Moiseivitch plays it with sentimentality and mincing daintiness in the new Victor set that he made with the London Philharmonic under Szell (Set 761, \$5.50). Piano and orchestra are recorded with more richness and voluminousness in the new version; but the recording of the old performance is still acceptable in fidelity, clarity, and balance, and I hope that Victor will retain it in the catalogue. If it doesn't, the fine Columbia set made by Gieseeking and Bruno Walter will be the one to acquire of this work. (Schnabel is now here—and here to stay. It seems likely under the circumstances that if it wants to Victor can secure H.M.V.'s permission to make recordings of his performances—of the Schubert sonatas that he is going to play for the New Friends of Music next season; of the last Beethoven sonatas that are no longer obtainable even in H.M.V.'s limited edition subscription sets; of some of the concertos he will play with orchestras next year. And meanwhile Victor might issue the Schnabel recording of Schubert's great B flat Sonata that has already appeared in England.)

The volume Italian Songs of the 17th and 18th Centuries (Set 766, \$3.50) offers in most instances pieces that are lovely and charming, and that are superbly sung by Pinza. On the other hand the Russian Liturgical Music recorded by the General Platoff Don Cossack Chorus (Set 768, \$3.50) I find wearisome—though possibly what wearies me is the music as sung in what seems to be the Cossack chorus style of constant oscillation between *ffff* and *pppp*. On his record (15601, \$1) of "Dalla sua pace" and "Il mio tesoro" from Mozart's "Don Giovanni" Gigli's voice sounds more agreeable than it has sounded on other recent records, but his phrasing is not in better musical taste.

The pieces in the volume Piano Music by American Composers (Set 764, \$4.50), well recorded by Jeanne Behrend, are things one might be interested in hearing once; but I doubt that this hearing would leave one with a desire to hear them many more times or even—in some instances—a second time. And my hearing of the works of Villa-Lobos in the Festival of Brazilian Music (Set 773, \$5.50) has left me with an unwillingness ever to hear another work by this composer even once. The per-

formances by Elsie Houston, the Brazilian Festival Orchestra and Quartet, and the Schola Cantorum, all under the direction of Burle Marx, seem good and are well recorded. As for Sibelius's "Malinconia," well done by Louis Jensen, 'cellist, and Galina Werschenskaya, pianist (17920, \$1), it is something only a Sibelius fanatic will want.

Though he had only musicians of limited capacities at his disposal—the Columbia University and Barnard College Glee Clubs and the Columbia University Orchestra—Mr. John Giddings, with unusual enterprise and courage, put on a performance of Berlioz's Requiem which could not give the work all the effect it would have had from a first-rate professional performance, but which gave me at least an idea of this effect that I probably never would have if I waited for one of our choral or orchestral conductors to give it to me. In much of the work I found the language strange and the thought not easily assimilated; but two sections were immediately accessible and impressive—the intense and intricate Lacrymosa and the radiant Sanctus (in the Sanctus it was painful to hear what the tenor soloist, William Hess, had been taught to do with a fine voice).

And excellent taste in the selection and arrangement of material made the program of Spanish music and dancing at the third of the Museum of Modern Art's Coffee Concerts a model of its kind. The dancing of the extraordinary Juan Martinez and his wife Antonita, of Ana Maria, of the youngsters of the Gaiteros de Galicia, the singing of Sophia Novoa and La Gitanilla, the florid singing of the guitarist Jeronimo Villarino—all these were delightful.

B. H. HAGGIN

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

MEN OF WEALTH. By John T. Flynn. Simon and Schuster. \$3.75.

THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY. By E. D. Kennedy. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.50.

THE LONG WEEK END. By Robert Graves and Alan Hodge. Macmillan. \$3.

MISSION TO THE NORTH. By Florence Jaffray Harriman (Mrs. J. Borden Harriman). Lippincott. \$3.50.

REASON AND REVOLUTION: HEGEL AND THE RISE OF SOCIAL THEORY. By Herbert Marcuse. Oxford. \$3.75.

THE FORGOTTEN VILLAGE. By John Steinbeck. Viking. \$2.50.

ANOTHER PART OF THE FOREST. By G. B. Stern. Macmillan. \$3.

Letters to the Editors

Appeasement in Palestine

Dear Sirs: Recent reports of events in Iraq have again called attention to the notorious Haj Amin el Husseini, former Mufti of Jerusalem, now playing the Axis game in Bagdad. If he is today second only in influence in the Arab world to Ibn Saud, the British deserve credit for having deliberately built up his reputation and his trouble-making capacity. They appointed him Mufti in 1921, overriding the negative vote of the Moslem notables charged by law with making the selection. As head of the Palestine Moslem Supreme Council he was on the British pay roll; as sole administrator of the Waqf, a religious and charitable foundation, he was responsible for the distribution of large sums for which an accounting was never required of him. He was formally charged with instigating rioting against Jews and British in Palestine by several investigating commissions. In the disturbances that began in 1936 he was known to be receiving financial aid from Axis sources, and to be outfitting his terrorist gangs with Axis arms and paying them off with Axis money.

Yet the British made no move to halt his activities until 1937; even then they generously permitted him to "escape" from Jerusalem to Syria, where their French allies as generously permitted him to continue his Axis-financed leadership of the Palestine rioters and his pro-Axis, anti-British propaganda. With the outbreak of the war he removed to Bagdad, where he played no small part in fomenting the anti-British sentiment that eventuated in Rashid Ali's coup. And now he is calling for a holy war to raise up the new Aryan Allah, with Haj Amin as his prophet.

The name of Fauzi Kawakji has also cropped up in the news again as a leader of the Iraqi revolt. He was the self-styled "general" of the Palestinian rioters, whom the British studiously refrained from putting out of commission.

Haj Amin could have been deflated and rendered impotent at any moment of his British-made career. But the British were so intent on appeasing the Arabs that they deliberately catered to his personal ambitions, camouflaged as Arab "nationalism." The concessions they made in pursuance of this policy, such as whittling down the internationally

guaranteed rights of the Jewish settlers until they virtually disappeared, only aroused contempt for Britain among the Arabs.

It may be noted, too, that the British have not yet learned from this experience. Palestine is in critical danger of an attack which will expose the eastern flank of the Suez and deliver it into Axis hands. Palestine is more difficult to defend, especially with Syria virtually open to Axis forces and Iraq in a state of disaffection, than is North Africa. Yet British appeasement of the Arabs has gone to the length of refusing to mobilize some 50,000 trained and eager Jews in Palestine—and at least another 50,000 elsewhere anxious to serve in Palestine—for fear of arousing Arab displeasure. Britain declines to place under arms more Jews than Arabs; and so the enrolment of Jews must wait upon the pleasure of the Arabs, who have shown themselves reluctant to serve, in some part, no doubt, as a result of Haj Amin's effective propaganda. This at a time when the empire approaches a major crisis, and every soldier counts. For the same reason Britain has deliberately refrained from developing Palestine's efficient industry, largely Jewish, to a point where it can supply the Near East armies with important war materials.

And so the Suez may be lost, the empire cut in two—but, praise Allah, the Arabs will have been appeased.

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG
Easton, Pa., May 23

The New Master Class

Dear Sirs: In his review of James Burnham's "The Managerial Revolution" in *The Nation* of April 26, Lewis Corey mentions me as one of those who "helped to shape the theory" of the new social order discussed by Mr. Burnham. Corey says that I "formulated it in a general way" and "called the new rulers 'intellectuals.'" That word actually does occur rather frequently in my writings. I used it, however, in the "specifically economic sense of a stratum deriving its livelihood from mental occupations" (Foreword to my "Rebels and Renegades," 1932). Moreover, in my subsequent writings I spoke of "the rule of a new master class, the office-holders and technicians" (*Scribner's*, March, 1933)

and, again, of capitalism having "produced its own successor in the form of a new social stratum of managers, organizers, technicians, and other educated employees" (*Scribner's*, June, 1934). Mr. Corey is therefore not quite exact when he says that the later writers dealing with this subject "made it more specific" by speaking of "technical and managerial middle classes" or of "technical, administrative, managerial groups." Furthermore, I wish to point out that the theory in question, at least in its basic outline, is much older than the writings Mr. Corey referred to. Credit for it belongs to the Polish-Russian revolutionary thinker Wacław Machajski, whose writings, in Russian, appeared about forty years ago.

New York, May 9 MAX NOMAD

A Cable to Léon Blum

Dear Sirs: A cable sent to Léon Blum on April 9 read as follows:

The following group of Americans—educators, clergymen, writers, journalists, artists, all those with faith in democracy—take the occasion of your birthday to express to you their sympathetic greetings, and to express as well the hope that you may soon be justly freed of all charges. We wish to express our confidence in your personal integrity and your devotion to the best interests of France and her people.

HARRY ELMER BARNES, LOUIS BROMFIELD,
KYLE CRICHTON, HELEN GRACE CARLISLE,
EDNA FERBER, CHRISTOPHER MORLEY,
HUDSON STRODE, FRED UTELEY, CARL
SANDBURG, LEONARD D. ABBOTT, BRUCE
BLIVEN, CLIFTON FADIMAN, LEWIS GANNETT,
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GORDON BATTLE, STRINGFELLOW BARR,
CHARLES A. BEARD, JOHN DEWEY, MARY
E. WOOLLEY, PAUL ENGLE, ALVIN JOHN-
SON, JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, ROGER
BALDWIN, JEAN HERSHOLT, PAUL MUNI,
(AMONG MANY OTHERS)

Several weeks ago we received this reply:

This testimonial, bearing such names, fills me with pride, confidence, and gratitude. I thank everyone, with profound emotion.

LÉON BLUM

HELEN GRACE CARLISLE
North Stamford, Conn., May 20

Polish Anti-Semitism

Dear Sirs: Permit me to make a few remarks concerning the article Anti-Semitism in Exile by William Zukerman, in *The Nation* of May 17. There is no doubt that anti-Semitic tendencies exist among some of the Polish exiles, but the views of these reactionary groups should not be confused with Polish public opinion. Poland passed the high tide of anti-Semitism at least a year before the outbreak of the war, and reactionary influences had begun to decrease in strength despite the efforts of the regime. And even during the preceding period of rising anti-Semitism there was a strong mass movement in Poland definitely opposing it—namely, the labor movement. Moreover, other sectors of Polish public opinion—not only in the Peasant Party—agreed with labor on this question. Many prominent scholars and intellectuals publicly proclaimed their indignation at the official support given to anti-Semitism.

Most of the eminent Polish democrats and labor leaders remained in Poland and are still fighting for freedom and democracy. Some of them, however, are now in Great Britain, where they consider it their supreme duty to stand up for the same ideals. Jan Stanczyk, leader of the Polish Socialist Party and Minister of Labor and Public Welfare, has made many statements to that effect. The same may be said of the *Polish Worker*, a Socialist paper published in London, and of the New York weekly of the same name.

In Poland itself, in spite of the terrible conditions and the indescribable persecutions of the Polish people, the democratic underground movement still carries on. Scores of illegal papers are being published. This movement is fighting anti-Semitism, considering it an instrument of Hitler's domination, and has issued a special manifesto against the institution of the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw. In spite of the German determination to separate the Poles from the Jews completely, the two groups are cooperating. It should be noted that the defeat of the Polish people has stimulated their feeling for democracy.

Pétain and Darlan are not the French people, Franco and Suñer are not the Spanish people, and Juzviak and his friends are not the Polish people. Mr. Zukerman's article gives only a part of the truth, and was therefore unfair to the Polish nation.

WLADYSLAW MALINOWSKI
New York, May 24

"One Grand Republick" of Europe

Dear Sirs: That the nations of Europe could be drawn into closer relations, and that the experience of the United States might serve as a precedent for such an interesting event, was foreseen, and the process indicated, by Benjamin Franklin in a letter which he wrote to a correspondent in Europe under date of October 22, 1787:

I send you enclos'd the propos'd new Federal Constitution for these States. I was engag'd 4 Months of the last Summer in the Convention that form'd it. It is now sent by Congress to the several States for their Confirmation. If it succeeds, I do not see why you might not in Europe carry the project of good Henry the 4th into Execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republick of all its different States & Kingdoms; by means of a like Convention; for we had many interests to reconcile."

W. H. TAYLOR
Uniontown, Ala., May 26

Youth Defends Democracy

Dear Sirs: Last January a group of students from ten colleges met in New York City to talk over ways and means of building democracy in America and saving it in Europe and the Far East. Out of these discussions grew the Student Defenders of Democracy, with headquarters at 8 West Fortieth Street, New York. The organization now has members on some 150 campuses and active chapters on about 30. At the rate of present additions, it will probably have between 3,000 and 5,000 dues-paying members next fall. This would make the S. D. D. the largest political student group in the country.

It publishes a student newspaper, *SOS*; it is engaged in a drive to win one million signatures to a petition favoring convoys; it has launched a drive among students in favor of labor rights and against the Vinson bill; it is campaigning in behalf of the "Student Bill of Rights" drawn up by the Academic Freedom Committee of the A. C. L. U.; and it is publishing a series of folders on current topics known as the "Freedom First" series.

Probably the S. D. D. received widest recognition when some fifteen of its high-school members braved a hostile pro-Nazi crowd at a New York meeting of the America First Committee. Their signs were torn, their literature was taken away, and many were beaten. These students were orderly, but they

did not run away, and they did not consider it "beneath their dignity" to picket.

Because the S. D. D. believes in democracy and does not coerce those of its members who do not always agree with the majority, it has a real chance of becoming a lasting force in American student life. But it is necessary for it to raise a budget of \$15,000 a year.

ROBERT G. SPIVACK
New York, May 15

CONTRIBUTORS

W. E. LUCAS lived in India from 1922 to 1936 and was acquainted with the Indian leaders, including Gandhi and Nehru. During that period he contributed special articles to the *London Times* and other publications.

D. A. SAUNDERS has done considerable research, writing, and lecturing in the field of public opinion, propaganda, and channels of communication.

AUREL KOLNAI is the author of "The War Against the West," a brilliant evaluation of National Socialism and its international consequences.

OUR CHINESE CORRESPONDENT is a distinguished Chinese scholar who, for obvious reasons, must remain anonymous.

WALDO FRANK is the author of "A Chart for Rough Water." An earlier book, "America Hispana," has recently been brought out in a new, inexpensive edition under the title of "South of Us."

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ, author of "Land Without Moses," has long been a close student of the racial and economic problems of the South.

RALPH BATES, noted English novelist, is the author of "The Olive Field," "The Fields of Paradise," and many other books.

PHILIP RAHV is one of the editors of the *Partisan Review*, a radical literary journal.

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